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THE

LIFE AND TIMES

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RIENZI.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

Miss Mitford's Tragedy, and Mr. Bulwer's Novel, have awakened a desire in the public, to know something of the real history of Rienzi. The work now republished, was written by Father Cerceau, a distinguished Jesuit of the early part of the eighteenth century, and found at his death among his papers. The MS. was revised, perfected, and published by Father Brumoy, a still more celebrated man. It has always been considered as a work of authority, and even Gibbon appears to have relied on it without further research. The general outline was probably furnished by an Italian life, written by a contemporary of Rienzi's; but it is

stated in the Preface, in the edition of which this is a republication, that, in addition, the records and manuscripts of the Vatican were examined, and many curious and important circumstances, many original papers, letters from popes, princes, and more especially from Rienzi himself, were discovered and added. As a record of facts, therefore, the work will, it is presumed, be acceptable to the public. The spirit in which it is written is indeed that of a past age—the very title of the original work (*Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi, tyran de Rome*) denotes a foregone conclusion. But the reader who shall turn to it warm with enthusiasm from Mr. Bulwer's splendid prose epic, will be in a right temper to judge of the man by his actions, and not by the comments of a biographer.

THE

CONSPIRACY OF GABRINI.

BOOK I.

THE scenes which passed at Rome within the space of seven years, from 1347 to 1354, and which drew the attention of all Europe, formed by their continuity a sort of tragi-comedy so singular, as was never acted on the theatre of the world; none ever came up to it either in regard to its causes and courses, its circumstances and plot, or its success and discovery. Conspiracies bear in general an exact resemblance in history; every where the same foundation; every where the same passions, the same springs, and the same artifices; there is a still more perfect resemblance to be found in particular actions: all appear framed upon the same model. Boldness, ambition, and malecontent first occasion enterprises; rage and interest bind them; secresy and activity conduct them; and circumstances joined to measures,

well or ill undertaken, generally cause them to succeed or miscarry. The many revolutions occasioned by them are brought about underhand and gradually; it must be a work of time to undermine the foundation of lawful authority: at length, when an infinity of causes, almost unperceivable, hath brought this authority either to the brink of subversion, or to a more firm establishment, it is necessary that every enterprise of this nature be carried on with a coherence agreeable to the respective parts of the actors.

The conspiracy of Rienzi was widely different; the secret was a small part, the conduct still less; the motion was hasty and sudden; a chimera instantly became a reality; the success was happy for the rebel, and happy also during the time, for the Sovereign. A conspiracy thus extraordinary seemed to me deserving of being more known than it had hitherto been, and I often wondered that in less than four centuries it should in a manner be buried in oblivion. The pleasure which the reading an event of such variety affords, was not my sole inducement to call to remembrance the different passages of those authors who have wrote upon it; there was an advantage to be gathered from the moral and the politics. We have seen conspirators of different geniuses attempting to make themselves masters of their party and succeed; but I know of none who has engaged in an undertaking like our present sub-

ject; it must be acknowledged, that the irregularity of the means which he made use of to accomplish his ends, was alone capable of disconcerting the most refined policy and consummate wisdom.

The personage, whose history I attempt, was not one of those heroes whose births are accompanied with predictions; the obscurity of his birth hath prevented us from knowing any thing farther relating thereto, than that he was born at Rome, of low extraction, and that his father's name was Laurence Gabrini; his mother's Magdalen; the former was a mean vintner, the latter a laundress, and that they lived afterwards near the Tiber, opposite to the St. Thomas, under the Jews' Synagogue. These circumstances, seemingly trifling, are not to be omitted. Nicolas Rienzi, or Renzo, (the name he always went by) formed not his sentiments agreeable to the meanness of his extraction: he became an excellent scholar; and as he had a spirit elevated as his ideas, in a very short time he obtained the character of an extraordinary person, and merited the esteem and friendship of the celebrated Petrarch, his cotemporary. As soon as he had learned grammar and rhetoric, which improved his natural eloquence, he studied antiquity with an uncommon assiduity. Every thing he read he compared with similar passages, that occurred within his own observation, from whence he made reflections, by which he regulated

his whole conduct. To all this he added a great knowledge in the laws and customs of nations. He had a vast memory; he retained all Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Livy, the two Senecas, and Cæsar's Commentaries, especially, which he read continually, and often quoted by application to the events of his own time. This fund of learning proved the basis and foundation of his rise. The desire he had to distinguish himself in the knowledge of monumental history drew him to another sort of science, which few men at that time exerted themselves in. He passed whole days among the inscriptions which are to be found at Rome, and acquired soon the reputation of a great antiquary in that way. But his views were not to be confined to the empty name of scholar. Arrived at an age when the ways of the world make some part of our reflection, he began to form ideas of reanimating the Romans with a love of Liberty. Young as he yet was, he had an air of gravity, which obtained him a kind of veneration, and which gave weight to the most minute of his speeches. Whenever he walked amongst the ruins of ancient Rome, he affected an exstacy over some bust or remains of a statue, and pretending that he perceived not the crowd who were round him, "Where," said he, "are the old Romans?—Where is all their grandeur? Why lived I not in those good times?" Sometimes he expressed himself in riddles, half sentences, and intricate

phrases, and all without appearance of design; he discovered not the least notice he took of the impression which his speeches made on the people who followed him: his advantageous stature, his countenance, and that air of a man of importance, which he well knew how to assume, deeply imprinted all he said in the minds of his audience. His frequent repetitions of the words justice, liberty, ancient grandeur, which were continually in his mouth, made him persuade himself, as well as the giddy mob his followers, that he should one day become the restorer of the Roman Republic. Not content with a name among the populace, he had the address to gain a familiarity among the most honourable, and insinuate himself into the favour of those who were at that time in the administration. He had a brother who happened to be assassinated; satisfaction was not given for his death, and he resolved to go to Avignon and apply to the pope. This journey upon account of the death of his brother was mere pretence, his real motive was to endeavour to gain confidence with the pope, and represent to him in the most pathetic manner the situation of affairs at Rome; he strove to procure a title that might render him more recommendable to the holy father, and to be appointed deputy, to engage (if possible) his holiness to re-establish the court of Rome, and his see at the capital of the

world. These deputations seemed so important to the Romans, that they let slip no opportunity of renewing them. Since the year 1342, the beginning of the pontificate of Clement VI., they had sent a most solemn embassy to him composed of eighteen deputies, six of each of the three states, all chosen out of the chief families in Rome. The little success they had in their first requests made them fix their eyes on Rienzi, and name him for this deputation, in the same manner they had a few years before named Petrarch, as a man of eloquence, and capable of making the holy father sensible how prejudicial his absence was to the interest of Rome, as well as his own. But before we relate in what manner he acquitted himself, it may not be improper to give an account of the situation of Rome at that time, and of the principal persons who open the scenes of this history; the interior we leave to come in their proper course.

When Cardinal Peter Roger Limousin was elected pope by the name of Clement VI., the pontifical see had been fixed at Avignon about thirty-seven years, by Bertram d'Agoust, or De Goth, archbishop of Bourdeaux, afterwards Pope Clement V., at the instigation of Philip the Handsome. This transmigration of the pope, which lasted near threescore and ten years, was fatal, if not to the church and christianity in general, at least to Rome, to the

patrimony of St. Peter, and to all Italy. The cruel factions of the Guelfs and Gibelines, not only regained strength to destroy each other, but raised new cabals; the one in aspiring by force to tyranny, the other in defending themselves, threw Italy into such convulsions, as rendered her difficult to be known again. Petrarch, among his letters (published without a title) wrote upon this subject to a friend the following:—

"Hitherto we have gone through the sport only of fortune, at this day we feel her fury. O God! send us down again Nero, send us Domitian; their persecution will be more open; a secret poison consumes us, yet attacks less our lives than our courage. We have not the power either to live a virtuous life, or to die a glorious death. In short, all the fables you have read relating to Assyria, Babylon, the forest of Tartary, are in effect but a fable compared to our hell. Here we see another Nimroth with superb towers, another Semiramis, inexorable Minos, all-devouring Cerberus, the infamous Pasiphaë, and the Minotaurs; in a word, every horror imagination can paint. After this description can you believe the city the same that you have seen it? it is at once the most wicked and most miserable of cities; the resort of devils, the sink of debauchery, and (according to the prophet) a hell upon earth."

If this celebrated author in his figurative terms

flew too high, he was however right as to the affairs of Rome at that time; all writers agree, that that great city was reduced to a most deplorable situation. Justice was administered no more with freedom, the laws were no more put in execution; impunity rendered the guilty more hardened, and their outrages more clamorous. The great ones, always divided among themselves, agreed only in one point, that of deceiving the people, who fell always victims to their dissensions. Commerce languished at home; foreigners feared to go to Rome, lest on their arrival they should be hurt either in their lives or effects; the public roads were infested by robbers, and the city itself was the retreat of thieves; churches and palaces, destroyed by fire or misfortunes lay, for want of money, in ruins. But the greatest proof of the misery of Rome will be found in our history.

Among the Roman nobility who had reduced the people to slavery, the two most powerful families were those of Colonna and Ursini. The ancient feuds between them would not suffer them to live in tranquillity in that city. The Colonnas were Gibelines, and the Ursini Guelphs. Their animosities were often stifled and stirred up after the absence of the popes, who had as much difficulty to pacify as to put an entire stop to them. The legate Bertram, archbishop of Embrun, could find no better expedient to bring them to a truce, than nominating

Peter Colonna and Mathew Ursini governors of Rome. Some years after, in the fourth of the pontificate of Clement VI., in which Rienzi was deputed for Avignon, their flames broke out again.

Clement VI. appeared to have no great regard for the Romans; they were not often the objects of his thoughts. If Mathew Villani is to be credited :— "This pope was very liberal in bestowing benefices: he kept a palace truly royal, a grand table, a great number of knights and esquires, and a fine stud of horses. He loved to aggrandise his family, and he purchased great estates in France for his relations. He filled the vacancies in the sacred college with those who were young and scarce regular. He advanced to the purple others still younger, at the solicitations of his friend the king of France. He regarded neither learning nor virtue; ambition was sufficient. He was himself very well learned, but his behaviour was too free and gay. When he was archbishop he frequently passed his time away in gallantry among the ladies, and when he afterwards came to be pope he could not conceal his inclinations. The ladies of distinction entered his apartment as freely as the prelates; the Countess de Turenne particularly knew so well how to manage him, that in a great measure she disposed of his favours. He squandered away the treasures of the church, while the divisions in Italy gave him no concern."

I have quoted this character merely to show the ill-will the Italians bore Clement VI. I have found no other author accusing him upon account of the ladies; they all agree in his profuseness; his passion for raising his family, and promoting minors to the dignity of cardinals. All extol his popularity and clemency. There are no less than six ancient histories of his life, in which more mention is made of his virtues than his vices. "The peace of his subjects," says the author of the first, "was his principal study, to procure which he endeavoured at nothing more than a good correspondence with the sovereign princes of Europe, as is evident by the number of legates he sent to their respective courts. He interfered not in the wars of his neighbours, unless the rights of the church compelled him. His prudence in avoiding broils afforded him the more leisure to employ himself in the duties of the pontificate; he was very exact in holding consistories at their appointed time; his name seemed to have added to his natural clemency; so humane he never sought revenge on his most inveterate enemies. His goodness extended to all who applied to him; it was very rare he sent any away without granting their petition. He was exceeding bountiful to the poor, especially those whose modesty added to their necessities; he bore constantly in his mind the beatitude, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.'"

To these excellent qualities others add learning, and a memory so prodigious, that whenever he thought fit, he could recollect every author that he had read. This singular talent, they pretend, was occasioned by a wound on his head.

It is to be observed, that at the commencement of his pontificate the Romans demanded of him three articles. First, that he should accept for life, not as Pope Clement VI. but as Seigneur Peter Roger, the offices of Senator, Governor, &c. of the city of Rome. Secondly, that he should come and fix at the Lateran Church, the mother of all churches, and his proper see, so long deprived of the presence of its sovereign pontiffs. Thirdly, that he should consider how few persons could enjoy the indulgence, granted an hundred years since by Bonifice VIII. and reduce it therefore to every fiftieth year. The Pope at two months end answered their first demand, that he accepted of the government of Rome, by nominating persons to govern in his name, upon condition of their acting no way prejudicial to his sovereignty. His journey to Rome and fixing there, he put off under several specious pretences; that he wished it with all his heart, but could not at that time undertake it; the Romans took this as a flat denial, and were bitterly chagrined at it. Their third demand he agreed to, and published the Bull Unigenitus,

dated January 27, 1343, in which he granted indulgence to the faithful who visited the churches of the holy apostles, and St. John the Lateran in the year 1350, and for the future every fiftieth year to all perpetuity. The comparison which Boniface VIII. made in his bull with the Jews' jubilee, gave this indulgence ever afterwards the name of jubilee.

We must observe further, that it was under this Pope, that the schism of Germany on the election of emperors was prosecuted with great ardour, and brought at length great troubles both in the empire and the church. Lewis of Bavaria was elected in 1314 by five electors, and Frederic Duke of Austria by the other two. The Gibelines were for the former, and the Guelphs for the latter. Pope John XXII. issued out many processes against Lewis of Bavaria, who on his part penetrated into Rome, deposed the pontiff, negociated to no purpose with Benedict XII. and continued his hostilities to the time of Clement VI. The difference between him and the Popes, who looked upon the throne of the empire as vacant since Henry of Luxembourg, occasioned many pretensions on both sides. Clement VI. pursued the processes of John XXII. against the emperor, and pronounced a definite sentence against him by a bull dated April 13, 1346. He then caused Charles of Luxembourg to be chosen

King of the Romans by three electors, having the same year signed some compacts with that prince at Avignon.

These troubles, without relating those of Naples and Sicily, agitated Italy to such a degree, that the governors of Rome particularly seemed to possess rather an empty title than a power of making themselves obeyed. The discontent at the Pope's absence, and their reiterated denials to quit Avignon, caused perhaps a remissness. Stephen Colonna the elder, at that time governor of Rome, notwithstanding his birth, his credit, and the interest of his numerous family, of which he was chief, winked at an infinite number of enormities, either through an inability of suppressing them, or a fear of adding to the spirits of those, who were already too much irritated.

Raymond, Bishop of Orvieto, Vicar of Clement VI. at Rome for spiritual affairs, carried himself in much the same manner for the same reasons. He was a good prelate, a great canonist, strongly attached to the Pope's interest both spiritual and temporal; of an impartiality and integrity that on some occasions proved too delicate; but of a genius unfit for government, incapable of deceit, and liable, therefore, to be deceived by the artifices of every one who pretended the public good, which he had alone in view.

In regard to Rienzi, he was of a genius too

difficult to define; his character will be much better drawn from his actions, than from any portrait we can find of him. He had a singular mixture of virtues and vices, of good and bad qualities, of abilities and incapacity, which seemingly contradicting each other, he reconciled to a great degree. He was crafty and weak, bold and fearful, haughty and humble. A show of wisdom and gravity made him at first regarded as a profound politician; but his extravagant flights soon made him pass among men of sense for a madman, capable of the most rash enterprises. He had a natural timidity, which hindered him from pushing them on. His fierceness on a sudden was changed to baseness, and the most fortunate acts of his policy often degenerated to the most extravagant meanness. He was ambitious enough to conceive a design of a kind of universal monarchy. Eloquent by nature and art, he made impressions on the minds of those he spoke to, without distinguishing, or pretending to distinguish, between their applauses and railleries: capable of bringing about a revolution, and setting up a tyrannic government, but incapable of supporting tyranny upon a lasting foundation. In short, he was one of those geniuses of a superior degree, which Providence at diverse times sends to be either a scourge or blessing to a nation.

Such was the man deputed to go to Avignon, and

repeat the petitions of the Romans to Clement VI. to return to Rome. At his first audience he charmed the court of Avignon with his eloquence and the sprightliness of his conversation; encouraged by success he one day took the liberty to tell the Pope, that the grandees of Rome were avowed robbers, public thieves, infamous adulterers, and illustrious profligates, who by their example authorised the most horrid crimes. To them he attributed the desolation of Rome, of which he drew so lively a picture, that the holy father was moved and exceedingly incensed against the Roman nobility.

Cardinal John Colonna at that time shone at the court of Avignon. He was a lover of real merit, as he possessed a large share himself. He was the Mecænas of Petrarch, and of every man of letters. Rienzi apparently began with particulars that displeased the cardinal; it is certain that that prelate was sensibly nettled at his invectives, which reflected, among the rest, on some of his family. Omitting no pretence to render his deputation suspected, he caused him to be disgraced. This disgrace destroyed every scheme of Rienzi; he fell into extreme misery. Vexation and sickness, joined with indigence, brought to an hospital a man, who afterward made so great a noise all over Europe. Happy for him his misery was of short duration: the same hand that threw him down, raised him up

again. The cardinal who but just before had vowed his ruin, was all compassion, and, without foreseeing the consequences of his kindness, caused him to appear before the Pope in assurance of his being a good man, and a great partisan for justice and equity. The Pope approved of him more than ever, and to give him proofs of his esteem and confidence, he made him Apostolic Notary, and sent him back loaded with favours, but without any answer in relation to his Holiness's return to Rome, which he had demanded on the part of the Romans. Rienzi was less moved with the favours of Clement and Cardinal Colonna, than with the ill usage he at first met with from the latter. Resentment had a greater ascendancy over him than gratitude. He departed with a firm resolution to be revenged on the Colonnas, which in time he knew how to accomplish, and had the imprudence to let fall his threats on his departure from Avignon.

BOOK II.

As soon as Rienzi returned to Rome, he began to execute his office of apostolic notary with great affectation of honour, justice, and probity; which, joined to his continued exclamations against the enormities of the great, gained him on the one hand the affections of the people, as on the other it rendered them odious: by these means he obtained a kind of superiority, and omitted no opportunity of turning to advantage his secret designs. By his affability and popularity he added to his credit; always ready to serve, always foremost in civility, always punctual in the administration of justice, constantly exhorting the counsellors to equity, and the rest to peace, concord, and respect to the Holy See. Those who intermeddled with the government he stiled the Dogs of the Capitol.

When he imagined that he had sufficiently established the reputation of being a good citizen, he made a bold stroke. One day, at a full council-

board, he rose up suddenly, and with a kind of enthusiasm said to the senators, "You are bad citizens:—you who suck the blood of the people relieve them not." Afterwards, addressing himself to the officers and governors, he admonished them to take care of the welfare of the city. His speech forced a blow from Andrew le Normand Camerlingue, who was of the family of Colonna. Thomas Fortifiocca, secretary of the senate, rebuked him also for his inconsiderate zeal, and displaced him. This ill success not the least disheartened him; he grew more warm in reproving publicly their vices, and inveighing against the debauched, but acted in a more prudent manner. To cut a second eclat, with a better prospect of success, and less risk, he caused a symbolical picture to be drawn, on which he pretended to represent the whole situation of affairs in Italy, which he affixed to the court-gate of the senate.

This painting exhibited, in the midst of a tempestuous sea, a ship floating without sails or sailors, and just swallowed by the waves. On board appeared a woman in a widow's habit; her hair dishevelled, her hands wringing at her breast, and her knees in a suppliant posture; over her was written, Rome. On the right were four ships wrecked and sinking; in each a woman upon deck, representing Babylon, Carthage, Troy, and Jerusalem. One label set forth that injustice had ruined

those cities*; and another, that Rome was once greater than all, but her desolation was now near at hand. On the left were three rocks; on one was Italy, in the figure of a lady, lamenting the misfortune of Rome in having no place of refuge, who had herself been a refuge and asylum to the whole world. On another were the four cardinal virtues, emblematically displayed by four women, in attitudes the most expressive of grief, which they seemed to attribute to the dangerous condition of Rome; on a label they thus addressed her—"You have been attended upon by every virtue, and now, behold, you are overwhelmed in an ocean of evil. On the third rock was represented the Christian religion, with this label:—

"O God! if Rome perish, where must I go?"

Above, towards the right, were painted four rows of diverse animals with horns, through which they blew upon the waves, and endeavoured chiefly to sink the principal ship. In the first row were lions, wolves, and bears, with this inscription—"Behold governors, senators, and nobles." In the second, dogs, hogs, and she-goats, with this—"Evil counsellors and flatterers of nobility." In the third, dragons, foxes, and he-goats, with this—"Corrupt officers, judges, and notaries." In the fourth, a number of apes, monkeys, and cats, with this—"Murderers, adulterers, and robbers." Over the

whole was painted "Heaven," from whence descended the Supreme Being, with all the majesty of the sovereign judge displeased; two swords issued from his mouth, and on each side were the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, endeavouring to appease him.

This fantastical picture, which drew the attention of the people, caused them to reflect on what they every day went through, and look upon Rienzi as a man capable of taking their interests into his hands, and restoring their tottering state. His stratagem having succeeded, without danger from the principal men who despised it, in a little time after he had the rashness to make another public show of quite a different nature.

He affixed to the wall of the choir of St. John the Lateran a large brass plate, on which was engraven the people of Rome yielding the sovereign authority to Vespasian, in antique characters, to render it the more ambiguous; but the matter spoke itself. Rienzi would by this have had it understood, that the supreme power was entirely lodged in the hands of the people; that their rulers were no more than trustees; and that they were to ordain what they thought fit. The seditious maxims which Rienzi took so much pains to propagate, were extremely agreeable to the citizens; the nobility also were disgusted at the Pope's residence at Avignon,

and especially at the little esteem Clement VI. showed the Romans.

Rienzi, perceiving the attention of the people, which his hieroglyphical plate had universally attracted, and their desire of understanding the meaning of the mystical characters, raised in the same place an alcove and amphitheatre handsomely adorned. Having set a day for the explanation, he gave a general invitation to the nobility. Stephen Colonna and John, his son, appeared at the head of a numerous company of distinction. It was thought that the ceremony would have been very solemn, but in its appearance it proved a very singular farce. Rienzi on his stage was, in fact, a comedy king; he was dressed in a gown, with a hood of white cloth, and a hat of the same colour, spangled with golden crowns, one of which, more resplendent than the rest, was separated by the point of a silver sword. His whimsical garb made it difficult for him that day to expound; the extravagancy of his enigmatical dress, and the boldness of the orator, surprised all. He demanded silence; he expatiated with great energy on the grandeur of the empire, and the liberty of Rome, comparing its ancient splendour with its present decline. He represented Rome as overwhelmed, and blind to such a degree as to be unable to see the source of her evils; "because," saith he, "she hath plucked out both her eyes. to

know the Pope and the Emperor." He alluded to the absence of Clement VI.; the troubles occasioned by the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, not acknowledged by the Popes: and to the miseries which were the consequence thereof. "Behold," added he, turning himself toward the plate of brass, "behold the glory of the senate at the time the Emperors held their authority of the Romans!" Afterwards, making a sign to a man prepared on purpose, he made him read a sheet of paper which contained a plain explication of the unknown characters; they were the articles agreed upon between the senate and Vespasian. 1. The power of enacting laws and making alliances. 2. The liberty of adding to or diminishing from the garden of Rome (meaning Italy *). 3. The right to make counts, dukes, and kings, and to depose them; to build or depopulate cities; to turn the course of rivers; and to levy or take off taxes, as should be judged most necessary.

"Such, my Lords," continued Rienzi, "was your ancient majesty to bestow sovereignty on emperors —on the Tiberiuses and Vespasians; and such the power you have now lost." Then advancing nearer

* According to Gibbon, the *Lex Regia* empowers Vespasian to enlarge the *Pomœrium*—a spot of ground which the augurs at the first building of the city solemnly consecrated, and on which no edifice was permitted to be raised; Rienzi and others have confounded the word with *Pomarium*.

to the people, that they might understand him— "Romans," said he, with an elevated voice, "your divisions are the sole cause of your misfortunes; they engross all your thoughts, all your care. Your estates are neglected, your lands are untilled; the jubilee is approaching, and you have no provisions. Good God! what will foreigners, flocking from all parts of the universe to Rome to obtain indulgence, think? What will they say to find your city thus unprovided? Expect no succours from the ecclesiastics; they will leave the city when they find a scarcity, and take with them to other places numbers they find within your walls." He concluded with conjuring them to put an end instantly to their discord, and establish peace, so desirable at present for the public good.

This harangue, far from prejudicing, gained the speaker great applause. He showed himself boldly at the palaces of the great, where he was well received. John Colonna and other grandees of Rome made an entertainment to divert their respective companies. He spoke as a man inspired, and in an enthusiastic manner plainly foretold his future grandeur, his restoring a good establishment at Rome, and the glory of his administration. "If I am king or emperor," added he, "I shall proceed against all the grandees, who now hear me. I shall hang this, and behead that." He spared not one, and declared all in

their presence. They looked upon him as a buffoon, and laughed at his prediction; by his buffoonery, however, he afterwards deceived the most sensible men of Rome. Pleased with his success among the great, who diverted themselves with his flights, he acted his part so well before the people, who really esteemed him, that nothing was talked of among them but the Roman grandeur, the good establishment, and Nicholas Gabrini, its restorer. As the chimerical sights of Rienzi amused the populace, and the nobility, far from taking umbrage, diverted themselves with them, that their spirits might not sink, he had recourse again to his emblems.

He set up a new picture against the wall of the castle of St. Angelo, over against the market-place. On one side was a dreadful furnace vomiting flames almost to the clouds; and near it a vast multitude of people and kings, who appeared dying or half dead; among them was an elderly lady more than half consumed; not above one-third of her body remained entire. On the other side was a church, from whence came an angel dressed in white, with a scarlet hood; in his right hand he held a naked sword, and offered his left to the lady, to help her out of the flames. Over the steeple St. Peter and St. Paul appeared descending from heaven, and crying out, "Angel, angel, assist her, who received us in her tabernacles." In the mean time a number of falcons fell from on

high into the flames: a dove higher mounted, held in her beak a crown of myrtle, which she presented to a little bird that in a moment receiving it, pursued the falcons, and flew to crown the matron. Over the whole was this prophetic inscription, "The time of justice is approaching; wait the happy moment."

Among the many who took these public sights into consideration, some esteemed them idle fancies, and ridiculed them; others would have them to be realities and symbols of restoring Rome to her pristine glory, others again pretended to find out in all of them a profound meaning, and affirmed them to be true oracles. Time speedily explained the chimeras of such a madman as Rienzi, who painted the nobility under the figure of falcons, the Holy Ghost under that of a dove, and his own person under that of a little bird, who crowned Rome.

The last piece of this kind that Rienzi exhibited was a label, which he stuck up in the porch of St. George, with these words wrote upon it, "In a short time the Romans shall be restored to their ancient good establishment." This prophecy was promulgated the first day of Lent, 1347, and (which renders it really amazing) was in a very short time fulfilled, as if heaven itself was pleased to favour the extravagancies of Rienzi, in raising himself at once from the most abject condition to a sovereign dignity, or to let mankind see, that whenever the

supreme being thinks fit he can confound human policy, and advance at his will the most debased to the degree of potentates.

The time appointed for this surprising revolution was now at hand. The minds of the people were infatuated, and many of the nobility began to come into the views of Rienzi; their derision was changed into esteem. The senate in no wise mistrusted a man whom they judged to have neither ability nor interest; by the means of this reputation among them, Rienzi contrived and executed his plot under the very eyes of the government without meeting any obstruction.

Secured by this liberty he ventured to open his mind, but with great precaution, to many of those he judged the most discreet; to the gentry, to the merchants, and to men of every condition, whom he believed to be malecontents. At first he took them one after another to work upon them; afterwards, when he thought them firmly attached to his interest, he resolved to assemble them together. He directed them to a secret place upon Mount Aventine, towards the latter end of April, at the time the governor, Stephen Colonna, was gone to the castle of Corneto to take care of the grain. The conspirators took the advantage of his absence to meet in secret. In this assembly, which was the only one kept secret, all the rest were under the eyes of the

whole city, they consulted ways and means to bring about the good establishment. Rienzi gave the seditious no time to reflect upon what they came about. Elevating himself the better to harangue them, he set forth with great energy the misery, the slavery, and the almost ruined state of Rome; he made a contrast between them and its former grandeur, liberty and happiness. He represented in the blackest colours the incapacities of their governors, the dissensions among the grandees, intestine cabals, knots of men running to and fro, women carried by force from their husbands' beds; nunneries turned into brothels; priests abandoning themselves to all manner of debauchery: no shadow of justice, no authority revered; every thing to fear, nothing to hope from the senators, who, leaving Rome, indulged repose, and lived upon the fat of the land: even the governor himself enjoying at his country seat tranquillity at a time numbers were perishing in the city.

In drawing these pictures he animated his eloquence, sometimes by life and energy, sometimes by sighs, groans, and tears, and sometimes by exclamations of indignation. "You, brave Romans," continued he, "you are required to re-establish justice and peace." He perceived that, notwithstanding the emotion he had caused in the assembly, they looked upon themselves as unfortunate, and fetched deep sighs at seeing themselves in no condition of

executing so great projects. Whither must they go, without arms, without money, without a place of refuge? This reflection destroyed their ardour, and the whole appeared to them no more than a dream.

Rienzi resumed his speech, and assured them that he had in his power means both efficacious and lawful. As a necessary foundation for the enterprise, he gave them an insight into the immense revenues of the apostolic chamber, which he was as well acquainted with as the pope's vicar, and which he flattered himself to render still more extensive than in these troublesome times. Having again by this detail cast a mist before the eyes of the company, he made a calculation, and demonstrated that the pope could at the rate of four pence raise a hundred thousand florins by firing, as much by salt, and as much more by the customs and other duties. "As for the rest," said he, "I would not have you imagine, that it is without the pope's consent I lay hands on the revenues. Alas! how many others in this city plunder the effects of the church contrary to his will."

By this artful lie he would have averted the idea of an open tyranny, and make to himself a merit like that of St. Peter, of being the defender of their rights, and the restorer of their liberties. As to his auditors, they were so exasperated against Clement VI., having been long flattered with the vain hopes

of his coming to Rome, and obliged to see such vast sums sent into France, that they declared they would make no scruple in detaining them for whatever ends might be most conveuient.

This resolve, of which they took no consideration, raised their courage to such a pitch, that all declared themselves devoted to the will of their chief. To secure them from any revolt, he tendered them a paper, superscribed, an oath to procure the good establishment, and made them subscribe and swear to it before he dismissed them. In this tumultuous and ill-concerted manner commenced a conspiracy, in appearance so little to be feared, that men of sense esteemed it beneath their notice; and so wonderful in its success, that it became the chief subject of discourse throughout Europe.

The execution was as odd as the project and measures had been. Rienzi judged it necessary to gain the pope's vicar, and bring him into his confidence. History is silent in regard to the means he made use of to effect it. But by the following it appears that he attempted and succeeded. Raymond, the pope's vicar, was a most proper person to fall into the snares of a man even of less craft than Rienzi. It is probable Rienzi discovered no more of the conspiracy than was necessary to bring him into his designs, and talked to him only of the public welfare of Rome, particularly that of the apostolic chamber.

As much in the dark as we are in relation to this affair, it appears that the Bishop of Orvieto either despised his undertaking, or rather, underhand, seconded it. Rienzi effected an exploit which, without his knowledge or consent, was actually impossible. On the 18th of May, a few days after the secret meeting, he caused it to be proclaimed through the streets of Rome by sound of trumpet, that every man on the 19th, at night, should, at the sound of the bell, be at the church of the castle of St. Angelo, in order to procure a good establishment.

The same night he ordered thirty masses to be said, at which he assisted in person till near nine o'clock next morning. The 20th of May (being Whitsunday), he fixed upon to sanctify in some sort his enterprise, and pretended that all he had acted was by particular inspiration of the Holy Ghost. About nine he came out of the church bareheaded accompanied by the Pope's vicar (a mark of deceit voluntary or forced) and surrounded by an hundred armed men. A vast crowd followed him with shouts and acclamations. Rienzi set his march in all possible order. The gentlemen conspirators carried three standards before him. Nicholas Gualiato, surnamed the good speaker, carried the first, which was red, and much finer than the others; upon it, in gold, was the figure of a woman, sitting upon two lions, holding in one hand the globe of the world, and in

the other a branch of palm representing Rome. The second white, with St. Paul holding in his right hand a naked sword, and in his left the crown of justice, was carried by Stephen Magnaccusia, apostolic notary. On the third was St. Peter, holding the keys of concord and peace. All these insinuated the design of Rienzi to re-establish liberty, justice and peace.

Amidst this singular pomp and loud acclamations, Rienzi drawing the people after him, marched directly to the capitol, not without some return of dread, for he was naturally fearful upon reflection: but encouraged by the multitude, he entered the palace, mounted the rostrum, and harangued the people with more energy and boldness than ever.

Having, according to custom, expatiated on the miseries the Romans were reduced to, he hesitated not to tell them, that the happy hour of their deliverance was at length come, and that he was come to be their deliverer, regardless of the dangers he was exposed to for the service of the Holy Father and the people's safety. When he had finished, he ordered the son of Cecco Mancino to read the laws which he had drawn up (as he said) to attain to the good establishment they all aimed at; assured, that the Romans would resolve to observe these laws, he engaged in a short time to re-establish them in their ancient grandeur.

The laws of the good establishment were—

I. That murderers without exception shall suffer death.

II. That all processes shall be stopped, and remain void for the space of fifteen days.

III. That no family of Rome shall appropriate to their own use what they think fit; but that the revenues shall appertain to the public.

IV. That in every quarter of Rome shall be maintained at the public expense, one hundred foot soldiers and twenty-five troopers.

V. That the apostolic chamber shall provide for widows and orphans.

VI. That in all the ports dependent upon Rome shall be maintained a vessel for the security of commerce.

VII. That the moneys arising from the chimney-tax, excises, customs, &c. (if occasion requires) shall defray the expenses of the good establishment.

VIII. That no nobleman, beside the chief of the people, shall have possession of the castles, bridges, ports and forts belonging to the government.

IX. That no nobleman shall appropriate to himself any fortress whatever.

X. That the grandees shall take care of the roads, and prevent highwaymen and foot-pads sheltering themselves near them, under penalty of paying for omission one thousand marks sterling.

XI. That poor convents shall be relieved at the expense of the public.

XII. That at all parts of Rome shall be erected granaries for the provision of corn against any exigency that may happen.

XIII. That if any Roman shall be slain in the service of his country, his heirs, if a foot-soldier, shall have a gratuity of one hundred livres; if a trooper one hundred florins.

XIV. That the towns and other places within the district of Rome, shall be garrisoned with soldiers drawn from those of Rome.

XV. That every one who accuses another, and cannot make good his accusation, shall be punished according to the will of the accused; if capable with a pecuniary, if not, a corporal punishment.

Such were the principal laws which Rienzi proposed to the Romans as the basis of the good establishment. They could not fail of proving agreeable to a people who found in them a double advantage; on the one hand a promise of plenty and security, on the other the depression of the nobility; charms at this juncture the most alluring, when resentment took in conjunction secret jealousy, and an antipathy natural against a rank superior, and formidable by reason of its superiority. Besides these advantages, no burdensome taxes, no imposts; all was drawn from the pope's treasury; and according to the plan

proposed, they farther believed that they rendered service both to the church and the holy father; so well did interest and conscience agree. Enraptured with the pleasing ideas of a liberty they at present were strangers to, and the hope of gain, they came most zealously into all the fanaticism of Rienzi. They treated him in the same manner the senate had formerly treated Vespasian; they resumed the pretended authority of the Romans; they declared him sovereign of Rome, and granted him the power of life and death, of rewards and punishments, of enacting and repealing the laws, of treating with foreign powers; in a word, they gave him the full and supreme authority over all the extensive territories of the Romans. Rienzi, arrived at the summit of his wishes, kept at a great distance his artifice; he pretended to be very unwilling to accept of their offers, but upon two conditions; the first that they should nominate the pope's vicar his co-partner; the second, that the pope's consent should be granted him, which (he told them) he flattered himself he should obtain. These pretences were masterly strokes of his policy; for on the one hand he hazarded nothing in thus making his court to the holy father; and on the other he well knew that the bishop of Orvieto would carry a title only and no authority. The people granted his request, but paid all their honours to him; he possessed the authority without restriction:

the good bishop appeared a mere shadow and veil to his enterprises. Rienzi was seated in his triumphal chariot, like an idol, to triumph with the greater splendour. He dismissed the people replete with joy and hope: he seized upon the palace, where he continued after he had turned out the senate, and the same day began to dictate his laws in the capitol.

In the meantime Stephen Colonna, who was at Corneto, a castle not far distant, was greatly surprised to hear of the transactions at Rome, and to find himself dispossessed of his government by a man he had hitherto looked upon as a madman. The affair at first seemed to have too little credit to make him imagine the mischief of so great consequence, nevertheless he judged it of too much importance to be neglected.

He took horse, and arrived at Rome with a small retinue, persuaded that this enterprise was no more than a sally of the adventurer, which he could easily quell, and that his presence alone would make the people return to their duty. The tranquillity in which he found the city confirmed him in his opinion, so that he contented himself with reprimanding them as he passed along for their disaffection. He retired afterwards to his own house to inform himself more fully of the real state of affairs, and set them again in order at his leisure. But Rienzi gave him no time: he acted with a discretion rarely attendant

upon persons of his character, and thereby secured to himself the government of Rome. The next morning he sent notice in writing to the governor to depart the city immediately. Stephen Colonna, enraged at this bold proceeding, and scarcely believing his own eyes, tore in pieces the order; adding, that if the madman put him in a passion, he would instantly throw him out of the window of the capitol. But he soon perceived he was not in the condition he imagined. As he had given the conspirators and people time to strengthen themselves, his threatening was of no effect. Rienzi, now attended upon at the first summons, sounded the alarm at the capitol: the people came armed from all parts of the city, and the insurrection was so quick and universal, that Colonna, finding them on the point of storming his house, with much difficulty got on horseback and escaped, followed by one servant only. He made no stop till he came without the walls, and having in a hurry ate one mouthful, he rode in all haste imaginable to Palestrina, there to join his son and nephew, who were no less concerned than he at the wonderful revolution, which his flight and disorder convinced them was too true. At this castle (where he fortified himself) he reflected, but too late, that the greatest events depend upon one critical moment, which, if let slip, can never be recovered.

Rienzi, who knew he must be lost, and his plot miscarry as soon as discovered, if Colonna had presence of mind or the least security, thought himself obliged to push this first success, and turn to advantage this decisive moment which his good fortune presented to him. Amidst the consternation into which the retreat of the governor had thrown the nobility, he issued that very hour an order for all the nobility to depart the city and retire to their estates. All of them obeyed without making him repeat it, and departed immediately. The next day he made himself master of all the avenues of the city, and placed guards on the bridges. The following days he established officers to execute justice in his name; to commit to prison the greatest criminals, to take up others who were known delinquents, and to hang some and behead others. All criminals who fell into his hands were treated with the utmost rigour. This severity, which he judged necessary at the beginning, especially after the tyranny of the nobility and a long impunity, brought upon him a thousand blessings, and gained him the hearts of the whole people to such a degree, that within a few days he found himself more master of Rome by the esteem and veneration which they showed for his person, than by all the secret or open measures and precautions which he had taken to secure his power.

BOOK III.

After a revolution so sudden and fortunate, it appeared absolutely necessary for Rienzi to seal the success of his enterprise with the pope's authority. He well knew that in acquainting the conspirators with his being in some sort acknowledged by the pope, and in affirming to the people that he would not upon any condition but that of the holy father's confirmation have accepted of the charge, he should reap an infinite advantage. This double decoy drew to his party a number of honest men, whom it was dangerous to undeceive, and gave his usurpation an air of lawful authority, which he judged requisite to preserve. One favourable word from Clement VI., or the least sign of his approbation, was sufficient to justify an action which without it could be esteemed no less than an open rebellion. Notwithstanding the visible contradiction between his proceeding and his pretended zeal for the service of the church, he had, however, at all times, assiduously studied to

reconcile them, and affected to do every thing for the ecclesiastical state, while in fact his own interest was the sole object of his thoughts; by these means he not only extenuated his usurpation, but obtained farther the approbation of the very person who ought to have been the most offended at it.

He was not the least deceived in his hopes. The deputies charged with his despatches and those of the pope's vicar, whom he had prevailed upon to write in his favour, were so much the better received at Avignon, as a submission so great could not have been well expected on his part. The news of this revolution at Rome was soon dispersed over Europe, and looked upon rather as a sedition that would consume away like a transient fire, than one of those grand combustions which change the face of affairs in a state, and which are in reality eras the most remarkable in history. The court of Avignon had taken the alarm, and was consulting means to redress itself when the deputies from Rienzi arrived.

The pope was at that time sensible that he alone had occasioned the deputation of the Romans to beseech him to leave Avignon, and that his refusal had partly been the cause of the confusion; that the resentment of the Italians had made them favour Lewis of Bavaria in his attempts against the holy see by their neglect, notwithstanding the repeated assurances they had made of defending him against

the Emperor even to the last drop of their blood. In all appearance this revolution at Rome was the fruit of a discontent of forty-two years' continuance, reckoning from the exaltation of Clement V., first pope of Avignon, on the 5th of June, 1305, to the elevation of Rienzi on the 20th of May, 1347; in which it is remarkable, that the former of these critical days for the Romans was Whitsun-eve, and the latter Whit-Sunday, a circumstance which Rienzi failed not to turn to advantage.

These considerations obliged Clement in so nice an affair to act with deliberation, especially as Rienzi's letters were couched in terms full of zeal for the good of the church, and submission to the vicar of Jesus Christ. He declared therein, that he had nothing in view in what he had done but the establishment of the authority of the holy see, almost annihilated by some particular lords; that the Romans had in a manner forced him to put himself at their head, in order to free Rome from the tyranny she long had groaned under; that without the expectation of his holiness's good will, he would not have joined hands with them, and upon condition of acting in concert with his vicar, whom he had expressly demanded for a joint administrator in the government. In a word, that if his holiness would vouchsafe to confirm him in the administration, he doubted not of convincing him of the disinterested-

ness of his intentions, and of his passive obedience to all his commands.

The envoys of Rienzi in their audiences lessened much the submission professed in his letters. Having expatiated on the ability, the wisdom, and the authority of a man who, at the first word of command, had drove from Rome the most ennobled, hitherto regardless, high as it was, of the papal power, they acquainted his holiness that the people of Rome would never suffer any infringement on the authority of Rienzi, who had already given them proofs of his good administration, and who was, as it were, idolised by them; that even Rienzi himself should not leave them at his own pleasure, and that they would compel him to maintain the high post he possessed with so much dignity for the good of his country.

The court of Avignon upon consideration shut their eyes on all that had passed. They commended Rienzi's zeal, and were content with his good intentions; they exhorted him to preserve the favour and protection of the holy father, who, if he approved not of the manner, ratified the election, and confirmed Rienzi and Raymond in the authority and power which the Romans had bestowed on them; they moreover judged it proper to make known that they were acquainted with the whole proceeding, "for (said the holy father) such an election could not have been made without our consent, because the

Romans soon after our exaltation invested us with the sole power of nominating officers of the city."

While the envoys of Rienzi were negociating for him at Avignon, or rather from the moment they departed, he was meditating upon the means of obtaining a new title, without concerning himself about that which the pope should think fit to confer, and which he wisely foresaw he must be obliged to accept of. He considered that a power granted by the pope would in all probability be loaded with such restrictions, as must most effectually limit the extent of the grand projects he had formed; that, therefore, it highly behoved him to put himself in a condition that would one day enable him to shake off the pope's authority, if he should presume either to regulate, diminish, or take away the power he had usurped.

Nothing was more plausible than the title he fixed upon, which was that of tribune of the people. Versed in the Roman history, he knew the extensiveness of that charge in ancient Rome, that from a small beginning the tribunes brought it to a power almost despotic, to which the greatest of the republic, the senate, the consuls were compelled to submit. After the extinction of the republic it appeared of such importance, that the emperors thought themselves not invested with power sufficient, unless they annexed to their dignity the charge of tribune, which afterward became inseparable; a charge which, at its

origin was regarded only as the most proper means of securing the liberty of the Romans, yet falling into the hands of the emperors, became the instrument of oppression, and the destruction of that very liberty itself.

Extraordinary as this title appeared, which had long since remained unknown at Rome, it required nothing more than a little fawning upon the people, to call to their remembrance their ancient grandeur, and those happy times wherein the masters of the universe were obliged to make court to the meanest citizens for their suffrages. Rienzi assembled the people, and having fed them as usual with his chimerical ideas of the re-establishment of a republic, he told them he had two favours to beg of them, the first was to ratify all that he had done to that time, the banishment of the nobles, the punishment of the criminals he had executed, the regulations he had made, and the order he had dispersed over the city; the second was to confer upon him a title independent of any other than that which he should receive from the people, and which might happen to stand in need of such a regulation as he at that time required of them.

The people, in a manner enchanted with respect for him, answered his demands with a general applause; they clapped their hands, and with one voice proclaimed their eulogiums on all he had done;

they were so little masters of their own reason, and so perfectly devoted to his person, that whatever dignity he requested, they would willingly have granted; he might doubtless, had he thought fit, been proclaimed king or emperor.

But Rienzi coveted not those august titles, which, far from augmenting, most frequently diminish the power of the possessor: his aim was to obtain an authority more than royal, yet under the name of popularity. He again repeated what he so many times had insinuated to the Romans, that they were a people of all others the least susceptible of oppression, and ought to pay obedience to no other governor than the person they should elect; that, as the insolence of the patricians formerly produced the creation of tribunes to support the rights of the people, the present tyranny of the nobles demanded loudly a similar defence; that the nobles omitted no opportunity of making their efforts to bring them back to the yokes from which the Divine will had, under his ministry, freed them; that, as the name of tribune was so dear to the people, so detestable to the grandees, none but a tribune could repel their attacks; and that he, with that title, should have power sufficient to withstand, like walls of brass, their strongest attempts. He desired, in this new dignity, the copartnership of the pope's vicar, whom he knew would possess the name only of tribune, as he had hitherto

done that of governor. When he had finished his harangue, they were both proclaimed tribunes of the people, and, for an addition to their glory, were styled the Deliverers of their Country.

The principal grandees, whom Rienzi had compelled to retire to their country seats, trembled when they found that the power of their enemy, far from losing ground, as they were in hopes of, was daily increasing and improving in grandeur. The new dignity of tribune alarmed them; they looked upon it as an ill omen; they reproached each other with their blindness in regard to the conduct of the man, who had diverted them with his conceits; they blamed, above all, Stephen Colonna for not foreseeing the evil which he might, at its birth, by sacrificing one wretch, have smothered: they had all, indeed, laughed at the alarms and cautions which they had been advised to take against the sallies of a politic buffoon, who only amused them.

Whether they were wrong or no in not quenching at first the flame, they judged it necessary, however, now to prevent the fatal consequences of it, and take the most proper measures against a power whose chief object was their annihilation. They joined to consult the destruction of their common enemy; they held secret assemblies, they deliberated largely; but their former errors, in point of submission, appeared upon this occasion; every one thought him-

self equally in the right to decide and give law; the ancient animosities which their present peril had lulled asleep, were soon awakened by the warmth of their debates. Their debates terminated in the most virulent reproaches, and they separated at length in a ferment, without coming to any conclusion.

The tribune, informed of this scene by his spies, cut for a second time one of those bold and decisive strokes which his good fortune, rather than his genius, suggested to him at the most critical junctures of his conspiracy. It was indeed affirmed, at that very crisis, a particular instinct drove him, almost against his will, to those actions of vigour and presence of mind which bring honour to the most refined and intrepid policy. He published an edict, by which he summoned the grandees to his tribunal, to take their oaths to the Republic, upon penalty of being declared rebels and traitors in case of default. This summons thunderstruck the nobles, united by their hatred to the tribune, and divided by their own particular animosities. As he had surprised them in the interval of their division, without allowing them time to re-assemble, they had no other course to take than to obey him by their return, as they had before done by their retreat.

The first who presented himself was the young Stephen Colonna, son of the governor of that name. He entered the capitol attended by a few of his

domestics. Upon seeing the vast concourse of people, among whom the tribune was administering justice in an order and with an authority unprecedented, Colonna could not forbear outwardly expressing his apprehensions: he trembled. The tribune presently advanced toward him, armed with the majestic countenance of a sovereign; then leading him to an altar, obliged him to swear by the body of Jesus Christ and those of his holy Evangelists never to take up arms against him, the tribune, or the people of Rome; to preserve plenty, trade, and the safety of the roads; to grant no retreat to robbers; to protect orphans; not to touch upon any account the public money; and to appear, upon the first notice, either with or without arms, according to the order.

This was, in substance, the form of the oath which Rienzi had drawn up to secure the nobility; a form of which the equity was an exquisite allurement for the people; an ensnaring proof of the integrity of the tribune; a mortifying reproach upon the nobles for their past conduct; and a bridle strong enough to hold them in, or render them odious, if they should violate an oath so just. After the ceremony was over, the tribune admitted young Colonna to retire.

The return of this lord composed the others, who apprehended some trap laid to seize their persons: when they found themselves free by an oath, which

they might hereafter examine; they made no hesitation in making their appearance. Reynold and Jordan Ursini, with the two Colonnas, John and Stephen, the ancient governor of the city and chief of his house, went to pay homage to the tribune trembling. After their example, and seized with the same terror, all the nobility repaired to the tribunal of the capitol, and swore allegiance to Rienzi. They engaged to stand by him, the good establishment, and their country, with their lives and fortunes. Even Francis Savelli, Rienzi's own lord, hastened to take the oath of fidelity to a man who, but a few days before, had been his vassal. The commonalty were ordered to follow the nobility; all professions came, according to their rank, to pay homage, in an order and with a submission that had not been seen at Rome for many years. This tranquillity, although procured by fear, was highly pleasing to the Romans, who, to their surprise, heard no more murmurs at violence and murder.

About the same time, to make a deeper impression on the minds of his new subjects, the tribune gave an instance of his rigour. He ordered an Anastasian monk, (a man much exclaimed against,) without regarding his prayers or the habit he wore, to be publicly beheaded before his own monastery: he coveted much the reputation of an inexorable judge of the wicked. As soon as he found his

authority firmly established, by the submission of the nobility and people, he turned the whole bent of his thoughts upon the manner of administering justice, which he had at first only given a sketch of. He created a new council, which he named the chamber of justice and peace, agreeable to his second standard, that bore the figure of St. Paul, holding in his right hand a naked sword, and in his left the crown of justice. He made choice of gentlemen of the best families to fill it,—these he called the peace-making judges, who were to adjust and reconcile all differences, in an exact observation of the *Lex Talionis*.

Two parties at variance were to come in person, on a summons, to the tribunal; before they had pleaded their cause, they were obliged to promise faithfully to be reconciled after judgment given, and deposit a fine for security. After hearing, and their cause decided, the offender must make retaliation to the offended adequate to the injury sustained; then, in presence of the judges, they were to embrace each other and withdraw, without daring ever afterward to behave as enemies. In matters criminal, the same law regulated the satisfaction for the wounded, but not with so much severity as to debar the injured party from forgiving the punishment of him that wounded him. If one man, for example, put out another's eye, he was brought upon the steps of

the capitol; there, bare-headed, and kneeling at the feet of the injured, he begged remission of the punishment of the Talionis, and, assisted by his friends, who joined their petitions with his, he made acknowledgment of his submission. If the injured forgave him, he was forgiven the punishment; if not, he had one of his eyes put out immediately.

In regard to crimes which concerned the safety and tranquillity of the public, there was no mitigation, no remission to be expected. The tribune looked upon impunity to have been the source of all the late enormities; he kept a strict hand over the judges whom he had established for that purpose, that criminals might be tried with all the rigour of his new laws. The same was observed in civil affairs: justice was executed with such expedition, that no cause, however intricate, exceeded the term of fifteen days, as he had ordained in his second law.

This close attention to reform justice, to watch even the judges themselves, and to prosecute without exception delinquents of every condition, soon purged Rome of murderers, adulterers, thieves, and all suspected persons. They took so hastily the alarm, that they imagined themselves every moment discovered, as if the tribune had read their crimes on their foreheads. In perpetual fear of being dragged out to punishment, they lay concealed in the city,

watching an opportunity to escape; they flew, in effect, by night; they abandoned their houses, wives, and children, believing there was no place of security for them until they had passed the territories of Rome. The woods and great roads, long infested by robbers, became entirely free; lands, which the labourers had forsaken, began to be cultivated; foreigners went and came without danger; the merchants renewed their commerce; every thing in general put on a new face. Petrarch, in his letter to Charles, King of the Romans, gives this short account of the change of affairs:—

"Not long since, a most remarkable man, of the plebeian race, a person whom neither titles or virtues had distinguished, until he presumed to set himself up for the restorer of the Roman liberty, has obtained the highest authority at Rome. So sudden, so great his success, that this man has won Tuscany and all Italy. Already Europe and the whole world are in motion;—to speak the whole in one word, I protest to you, not as a reader, but as an eye-witness, that he has restored to us the justice, peace, integrity, safety, and every other token of the golden age."

The unfortunate, who had banished themselves Rome to escape justice, and were dispersed over all parts of Italy, trembled at the name of Rienzi; they persuaded themselves a man of his character could

not confine his ambition, supported by the zeal of public good, within the walls of Rome; it was reasonable, therefore, to apprehend that he would soon be upon the backs of them. The tribune confirmed them in their apprehensions. The facility he found in making himself master of Rome, and the affection shown him by the people, extended his views over the rest of Italy, which he noways despaired of reducing to his obedience. In consequence of this project, he assembled a general senate, and made one of those harangues in which his pathetic eloquence always prevailed, as he flattered the vanity of the Romans. He magnified, according to custom, the ancient extent of the Roman power, which knew no bounds but those of the world. He insinuated that it availed but little their country, once mistress of the universe, to see herself delivered from the tyranny of the nobles, unless they endeavoured to recover for her one part of her former glory, by bringing, in some manner, under her dependence the rest of Italy, which was withdrawn from her; that they must strive to re-unite every little state which had been dismembered, and form, as heretofore, a body, whose motions Rome, in quality of chief, should regulate; that, in order to succeed, he thought it proper to invite all the cities and all the princes of Italy to enter into the league of the good astablishment, and favour a project which, procuring

in them a support, would give the city of Rome a kind of superiority, as she would become the protectress of all Italy.

Nothing appeared chimerical to the Romans, already accustomed to the prodigious success of the most difficult enterprizes of the tribune. They returned him their thanks for the zeal he had expressed for the honour of their country, and beseeched him to execute a design so glorious both for that and himself.

He despatched forthwith couriers to the republics, to the principal cities, and to all the independent princes and lords in Italy. In his letters he informed them of the revolution that had been brought about at Rome for the establishment of liberty which he had procured; he exhorted them to unite with him and the Romans for the repose and general good of their common country; he entreated them to send deputies to Rome to draw up articles of this league and union in favour of the good establishment. He pretended that it must be through their means that he could make ancient Rome flourish again, by sending their assistance and counsel to that city, which had once been the capital not only of Italy but of the whole world. He told them, in short, that they ought to testify publicly their joy, and render thanks to the Almighty for the inestimable benefits of the good establishment, which providence through his

means had vouchsafed. At the head of his despatches he assumed magnificent titles, "Sovereign of the Universe," &c., (as Montaigne observes of the princes of his time) to support by names so singular the noise which his reputation began to make in Europe. Not content in writing in this manner to the doge and senate of Venice, the marquis d'Est of Ferrara, the king of Naples, in one word, to all Italy (which caused a number of despatches), he had the boldness about the same time to write to all the crowned heads and potentates of Europe, to desire their friendship, upon condition of granting them his. His secretaries sat up night and day in drawing up his letters. His couriers set out unarmed, having a little silver wand only in their hands. As soón as this mark of their commission was observed, they were in all places received with the greatest respect. Nothing demonstrated plainer the high idea conceived of the tribune than the report of the courier who returned from Avignon. He published aloud, that with his wand he had not only passed without danger the roads and woods so lately cried out against for robberies, but further, that thousands of passengers came to kneel before him, and kiss the wand with tears of joy and acknowledgments to the tribune, who had procured for them the liberty and security of the roads. All Italy indeed now rang with his praises; the poets celebrated him; but the

most pleasing commendation to Rienzi was the general satisfaction which he read in the eyes of the people, and which gave him the assurance of the undoubted homage of all their hearts.

As yet the tribune had contented himself with humbling the nobility, and preventing their making any stir. He had not laid hands on any one person of the least distinction. At length an opportunity, such as he desired, presented itself; a delinquent of the first distinction, whose crimes were public and attested. He was a young man, his name Martin de Puorto, so called from the castle of which he was lord, nephew of the cardinals Ceccano and Gaetan: he had been senator of Rome, and could count numbers of his ancestors who had enjoyed the same dignity. But his high birth and station served only to magnify his high crimes and public robberies, which had rendered him detested. In a little more than a month after he came to Rome to marry a young widow of the house of Alberteschi, he was seized with a disease, occasioned by his debaucheries, which detained him at Rome, contrary to his inclination, and which terminated in a swelling his physicians judged to be the dropsy. He kept himself close shut up for fear of the tribune; he saw no company but his physicians. Rienzi by his spies, however, was informed of the place he lay concealed in, and looking upon him as a proper victim to make

an example of, on purpose to keep in subjection the nobility, he ordered the guards of his own palace to take him from the arms of his lady, and bring him to the capitol. He was immediately arraigned: the tribune found no difficulty in convicting him of embezzling the public treasure. Although it was then three o'clock in the afternoon, he would not grant him a reprieve till the next day; he ordered the capitol bell to be rung; the people assembled in crowds tumultuously; they took the convicted lord's cloak off his shoulders; they tied his hands behind him; they made him kneel at the accustomed place upon the Lion's Steps; they read his sentence of death to him; and after granting him with reluctance a short time to confess in, led him to a gibbet, where he was tied up under the eyes of his lady, who from her window could see him hanging. His corpse was exposed two days and one night. Neither his quality, nor his proximity of blood with the house of Ursini, could save his life, or prevent the ignominy of his death. In this manner the tribune governed Rome, and made it tremble by many other similar examples of a rigour which nothing could soften. The people, who till their late fury had always preserved a due respect to the grandees, and had hitherto been strangers to this kind of execution, could not refrain from shedding tears at the fate of this nobleman, whom, guilty as he was, they

accounted unfortunate; but their transitory pity was soon changed into encomiums and blessings upon the tribune, who in all his conduct until that time appeared to have nothing in view but the extirpation of tyrants and tyranny. As to those noblemen who were equally criminal in their own conscience, they were of different opinions; some kept themselves in readiness to move off, others determined so to behave for the future as to give no offence. No person dared to carry arms or give the least insult; even masters feared to strike their servants, lest the severe tribune should bring them to his tribunal, where he heard all, and took cognisance of the least disputes with a care and capacity inconceivable. Public vows and prayers were put up for him, that God would fortify him in the vast design he had proposed of purging Italy of robbers, and making the capital of the world glorious in being the asyle and refuge of all nations. He had succeeded in part, and was near accomplishing an undertaking like that which Tamerlane once effected, who made his dominions so secure for travellers, that a man might go through them without danger, with a vessel of gold upon his head. Thus without fear they now passed day and night the territories of Rome.

The execution of Martin de Puorto was some days before the festival of St. John; and as that festival was always celebrated at Rome with great solemnity,

Rienzi embraced the opportunity of showing himself to the people in a cavalcade, the retinue of which would in some measure recal the representation of the ancient tribunes of the people, whom he had chosen for his models. On the day of the festival, June 24, 1347, which fell that year on a Sunday, he was accompanied by a number of principal officers of his horse-guards. He appeared in the middle of them mounted on a white horse, clothed in velvet lined with satin, and worked with gold, preceded by his foot-guards, which consisted of the hundred conspirators of the quarter of Reolo, with whom he had seized the capitol. The standard of the Romans, which was carried over his head, heightened the splendour of his dignity, which he supported by a majestic countenance.

As he perceived that this cavalcade moved the people, and produced a good effect in his favour, he resolved to form another some time after at St. Peter's church, but with much more magnificence than was seen in the preceding; observing that the order of his march excited the curiosity of all Rome. In this appeared first the finest and best armed of the cavalry in several troops. After them came the judges, notaries, chamberlains, chancellors, registers, and officers of every degree. Then the four prefects of the palace, with their attendants in good order and well mounted. John de Allo followed them, carry-

ing a cup of precious stone with the usual present which the senators made at St. Peter's church. He was followed by the horse-guards, and one troop of kettle-drummers and trumpeters, whose silver instruments made a loud and warlike sound. The bannerets marched in their rank with a profound silence with the different banners of their quarters. The young Vuccio Jubileo followed alone at some distance with a naked sword to represent justice, according to the ideas of the tribune. A small distance from him Liello Migliaro scattered money in profusion, which two men continually were taking out of bags hanging to their side. Rienzi by this affected liberality, pretended to imitate the magnificence of the Roman emperors. After all this train he appeared mounted on a superb steed, and surrounded by fifty halberdiers, cutting a figure so extraordinary, that he looked like a bear in armour. He was dressed in a party-coloured gown of velvet green and yellow, lined with fur. In his hand he held, in imitation of a sceptre, a rod of polished steel; on the point was a small globe of precious stone with a gold cross, in which was enclosed a relic of the real cross, with these words enamelled, on the one side, "Deus," and on the other "Spiritus sanctus." Close behind him Cecco de Alesso carried a grand standard, which he flourished over the head of the tribune, as was usual over those of crowned heads.

The ground of this standard was blue, on which was a golden sun surrounded by silver stars, and over those a silver dove holding in his beak an olive crown. The application of this device required no conjuration. The sun was the tribune, the stars those who surrounded his person, or those states which he pretended to bring under subjection to the city of Rome; and the dove with the olive, the peace which he had produced on Whitsunday, the festival of the Holy Ghost. This cavalcade, which had the air of a triumph, was followed by an innumerable multitude of people of all conditions, nobility, burghers, foreigners, Romans, all without arms, and in no particular rank, but in order, for care was taken to knock down all who should make any disturbance or confusion.

With this train the tribune crossed over the bridge of St. Angelo, saluting on the right hand and left the spectators, to join the popularity of a tribune with the majesty of a Roman emperor.

As soon as he came within sight of St. Peter's church, the clergy who attended in their canonical habits, walked before him with the cross and incense, singing Veni Creator; a ceremony they perform in respect to popes and sovereign princes. Having received him at the bottom of the steps, they introduced him into the church, where the tribune made his oblation at the altar. He was reconducted

by the clergy with the same ceremonies, and returned to the capitol in the same order amidst the loud acclamations of the people.

The day after this triumphant march, he affected a more than ordinary air of popularity; and making it known that he disdained not to descend from his high rank and debase himself for the public good, he granted audience to widows, orphans, and all other unfortunate persons.

After this act of clemency and goodness, he signalised his justice the same day upon two secretaries of the senate, the one named Thomas Fortifiocca, and the other Poncellet de la Cammora, upon whom he put a paper cap and an iron collar, and fined them a thousand livres, as guilty of forgery. Their credit, which was great before among the people, was quite lost by this indignity.

BOOK IV.

HITHERTO the conduct of the tribune had been unblameable, notwithstanding the despotic power with which he governed Rome, without any fear of opposition. No avarice, pride, or violence had sullied his reputation; it is true he was severe, but that severity fell only on the heads of those who were known offenders. Although the forfeited estates of those who flew from his justice on the one hand, and the sole disposition of the public treasure on the other, enabled him to live in all the splendour of a sovereign prince, yet his furniture and table showed no token of a change of condition. Avoiding ceremony, he was desirous of appearing after the manner of the ancient tribunes, who in their carriage were neither haughty nor proud. He was easy of access; the meanest of the people were as well received and as favourably heard as the most powerful and considerable. By a conduct so prudent he had the art to silence the envy of the grandees he had humbled,

to gain the blessings of the people he had drawn into bondage, to attract the admiration of all Europe, and to cause even the pope himself to authorise in a manner his usurpation.

It is difficult for a person of mean birth, elevated at once by the caprice of fortune to the most exalted station, to move rightly in a sphere wherein he must breathe an air he has been unaccustomed to. Rienzi ascended by degrees the summit of his fortune. Riches softened, power dazzled, the pomp of his cavalcades animated, and formed in his mind ideas adequate to those of princes born to empire.

He began to keep an elegant table, served with the choicest dainties and most exquisite wines, which was afterwards extended almost to profusion. Before this change he wanted no other rampart than the people's affection ; but since, he took those precautions which he judged most necessary for his security. Resolving to fortify himself in the capitol, he pallisaded and barricaded it at the expense of the Roman nobility ; he obliged them to pull down all the rails and gates at the avenues of their houses and give them to him, having thereby the double advantage of weakening their palaces, and fortifying his own at their costs. Not content with mortifying thus the nobility, he attacked them more closely in their interest. Under pretence of repairing the palace of the capitol, which was running to ruin, he

raised a tax of one hundred florins on every nobleman who had been a senator. About the same time he caused Peter Agapit Colonna to be sent on foot at noonday to prison. A short time before he had seized at Stephen Colonna's several who had made their escape, whom he ordered to be hanged immediately.

Having, without any molestation, repaired the capitol, which he made his fortress, he resolved to strengthen himself with a number of fine troops, as well for his own defence, as for the enterprises he had in view. He raised a body of 1660 men, 1300 foot and 360 horse, all young, well disciplined, well armed, and well paid. He made them take the oath of fidelity, and ordered them to be always ready to attend his person under arms at the sound of the capitol bell. He quartered them in twelve districts of Rome, thirty horse and one hundred and ten foot in a company, with particular ensigns in each.

As soon as he had completed these troops, which, in regard to the forces of Italy in those times, were very considerable, he published an edict, whereby he cited all governors of the towns within the jurisdiction of Rome, to come and pay homage to the people of Rome in his person; and at the same time he made an ordinance, whereby he laid a tax of one carline and four-pence for firing, upon all the towns, hamlets, and villages. The terror of his name was

so great, that they submitted to the tax without murmuring; indeed it was no novelty, they had paid it time immemorial; but the troubles in Italy had occasioned it a long while to be gathered in a confused manner, not with that punctuality which such a man as Rienzi alone could undertake. His orders were so strictly put in force, that his receivers could scarcely count the vast sums which they brought from all parts. The villages of the lower Tuscany, the seaports, and other little places, who had any pretence to get themselves off this tax, endeavoured now to pay it. This tax was looked upon as a sort of tribute and acknowledgment due from all the Italian cities to Rome, as their sovereign and their mother.

As to the governors of those towns the tribune had cited, they all submitted to his citation and tax, except two, who, imagining themselves strong enough to withstand him, regarded not his summons.

The first was John de Vic, who, under the name of governor, was in reality petty tyrant of Viterbo. He was generally called Prefect de Vic, having executed the office of prefect of Rome; he was desirous of retaining the title, which was to descend to his son Francis de Vic. The second was Gaetan de Ceccano count de Fondi. If we were to form a judgment of these two lords from the character the tribune gives them in his letter to the pope, dated

July 7, 1347, it must be a bad one indeed. He accuses them with fratricide, and says, that as they resembled each other in the first crime, they were not less unlike in that of rebellion. The accusation against the prefect was declared in general terms, but that against the count in particular, being charged with other murders. However high these accusations may appear, it is certain if we look into the characters of most of these petty tyrants, who during the absence of the popes appropriated to themselves the church lands, we find them no ways scrupulous in committing the blackest crimes to aggrandise themselves and maintain their usurpation. As enraged as the tribune was against them, they could not imagine he had said so much upon their account. The war which Francis de Vic afterwards waged against the Romans, sufficiently demonstrated the seditious spirit of his father, which he inherited.

Rienzi, highly incensed against these rebels, who were the only two that had dared to oppose him, resolved to push them in a manner that should convince them their resistance was not to be passed over with impunity; but as he thought himself not strong enough to attack both at one time, he chose to begin with the commandant of Viterbo, whose opposition stung him more sensibly than that of the count, which was not so openly avowed. Besides the town

of Viterbo, which John de Vic ruled with despotic sway, he possessed some small garrisons and fortifications, especially one esteemed impregnable, which was called the Rock de Respampano. The tribune designed (agreeable to his eighth regulation) to seize upon these places under pretence of the public safety, and to take from those who commanded them the power of making them the receptacles of robbers, who divided the spoil with them, as was openly practised before the elevation of Rienzi. Fort Respampano was a most convenient place for robbers; the tribune, who knew it would be commodious also for him, summoned the prefect to restore it to the people of Rome, to whom he said it of right belonged. The prefect, however unwilling to draw so formidable an enemy upon him, could not consent to yield up the place he most valued. He evaded as long as possibly he could the demand, until Rienzi, seeing these ways of negociation were of no effect, determined to reduce him by force to his obedience. But before he sent his army into the field, to add a greater weight to his arms, he proceeded in a legal manner against the prefect of Viterbo. After sending him a new citation to appear before him and account for his conduct and his unjust possession of Respampano, he pronounced, in the presence of all the people assembled, sentence of condemnation against him; wherein, styling him no more than

plain John de Vic, he declared him an enemy of God and the holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, a fratricide, a traitor, and a rebel to the Roman republic, and as such degraded and deprived him of all office and dignity.

He informed all the cities, towns, and villages under his jurisdiction, or in his alliance, with this sentence, and invited them to join with him against the common enemy. The universal desire shown to second his zeal answered the high idea conceived of a man, whom they esteemed no less than the restorer of public liberty. Far from diminishing his reputation and credit, he daily increased both. The towns of Perusa, Todi, Nardo and others, who were in a condition of furnishing troops, sent with the utmost despatch their all. Manfred, lord of Corneto, brought his soldiers, and headed them in person; a number of Roman lords listed themselves under the tribune's banner. In a few days his army was seven thousand strong; six thousand foot and one thousand horse, a most considerable army at that time, as the demesnes of the church, which was before divided into lordships and republics, could not, even the most powerful of them, keep five hundred men in pay.

The tribune, after humbling the nobility, sought to bring them over to him by marks of esteem and confidence. To put them at the head of his troops he

judged the most efficacious method. To keep an equal balance between the Colonnas and Ursinis, whose houses, as the most powerful, divided the rest of the nobility, he thought proper to give the command of the army which he was sending against the prefect de Vic to one of the Ursinis; and to appoint one of the Colonnas to command the troops which he should hereafter send against the count de Fondi. It was not looked upon as prudential in the tribune to trust his troops to those chiefs he had so ill used, whom, if occasion offered, they might turn against him; it is true the ancient antipathy between those two great families took away in some measure the apprehension of their ever joining against a man who had the entire affection both of his troops and officers. The person he made choice of to command the army against John de Vic was Nicholas Ursini, with whom he nevertheless joined Jordan Ursini as council.

The army marched at first against Vetralla, a small town in sight of Viterbo. They besieged it in form. During the siege, which lasted two whole months, there was no kind of hostility omitted over all the neighbouring country. They made incursions even to the very gates of Viterbo, the inhabitants of which could from their walls behold the dismal havoc they made upon their lands, plundering and taking away all they found, and setting

fire to whatever they could not remove. Such was the manner of waging war before the invention of gunpowder, which was thirty-one years afterward, in 1378, and which was not introduced into Italy till two years after the invention, 1380. Battles before that time were less bloody. Before the invention of gunpowder, says an Italian * author, war in Italy was carried on with so much humanity, that when night drew on, both parties lighted their flambeaux, by which light the officers of the besiegers and besieged wrestled with each other without any animosity, merely to pass time away as at a tournament. I remember to have somewhere read of one of these battles in Italy, where out of two considerable armies, one man only was found dead, who, happening to fall in the fight, and not being able to get up again, was trampled under foot.

But to return to the siege of Vetralla: the besieged tired by its continuance, by the resolution of the besiegers, and by the devastation which they had made in sight of them, made a truce. But, notwithstanding the town surrendered, the castle held out with such bravery, that the besiegers resolved to attack it with redoubled force. They turned their whole artillery then in use against it; they made a machine of an extraordinary size, which they fixed

* Balth. Bonnifacius.

against the gates of the castle, intending the next day to break through; but the besieged sallied out in the night with vast quantities of pitch, turpentine, oil, and other combustibles, with which they set it on fire; the next day the besiegers found their new Babel consumed to ashes.

The tribune, informed of this ill success, was excessively irritated at the opposition of the besieged, plainly foreseeing that if the castle held out as long as the town had done, he should scarcely have time to besiege Viterbo; in this manner, at least, he had promised himself to reduce the prefect de Vic this campaign.

In the meanwhile he understood that the Count de Fondi was raising forces to withstand him; he was the more perplexed, as he received certain information of that lord being encouraged and underhand seconded by one of the two principal officers, who at that time governed for the pope the dominions of the church; and that the prefect, John de Vic, was supported by the other.

Of these two officers of the pope, one was Peter du Pin, whom Clement VI., in a letter which he wrote to him that year, appointed vice-rector of St. Peter's patrimony in Tuscany; he upheld John de Vic. The other, whose name is not mentioned, and who underhand supported the count de Fondi, governed under the title of Count of the Roman

Provinces. It was generally thought that these officers acted in this affair without orders from the pope, particularly the count's supporter, who had no other view than that of obliging the cardinal Ceccano, to whom count Fondi was nearly related; at least it was assured that it was two months after these troubles the vice-rector received orders from the pope to keep himself upon his guard against any surprise from Rienzi, by which it appears that, till that time the holy father, had not mistrusted him or prepared against him as an enemy.

Nevertheless the tribune, who judged the pope's intention by the sentiments he conceived himself of the pope, and persuaded that Clement looked upon him as a dangerous man, persuaded himself that the lieutenants by his orders encouraged the two rebel lords; and as the regard which he had at all times affected for the authority of the sovereign pontiff, gave him a right to expect assistance, he determined to send his complaints, in such a manner, however, as without prejudicing his holiness, should fall only on the lieutenants in Italy.

He sent a letter, dated July 7, 1347, to the pope, which letter alone is sufficient to give a just idea of the surprising genius and boldness of this personage: to behold a man, at the very time he is exhausting himself in protestations of attachment to the church and pope, whom he acknowledges his sovereign, not

only avowing facts, which carry an absolute independence of all superior power, and making of no account the pope himself by his encroachments upon his authority, but even persuading himself that all his undertakings proceeded from a divine inspiration and the motion of the Holy Ghost.

He began in terms full of respect, "the most Holy Father and most clement Lord," which he often repeated: but if by the expression lord, which denotes sovereignty, he pretended to acknowledge that of the pope, he immediately cancelled it by other expressions and titles which he arrogated to himself. For to the usual date of the month and year, he added, "the first year of the republic's deliverance," and styled himself "Nicholas, severe and clement; Tribune of Liberty, Peace and Justice, and the illustrious Deliverer of the sacred Roman Republic." His whole letter was of a piece. Whenever he mentioned the city of Rome, or the people, to the pope, he styled them, "your city of Rome;" "your great city;" "your Romans;" "your sacred Romans;" but at the same time let him know, that this same city of Rome, these same Romans, had taken an oath to defend the government which he had established, according to those regulations that the Holy Ghost had inspired him to draw up, for the honour and respect due to the church of Rome and his holiness.

After giving a long detail of the restitution of the

places and forts possessed by the petty tyrants, the taking away of the grandees' barriers and their arms, and his other exploits, he informed his holiness that he had raised the duty upon salt, which before was a mere trifle, to the sum of three hundred thousand florins, an exorbitant sum in those days; and that he had also revived an ancient tribute of one carline and fourpence for firing, which had not been paid a long time since: "Thanks," said he, "to the good governors of the city for that." This news would not have been so disagreeable to the pope, if Rienzi, in the account which he gave of the finances and their increase, had acquainted his holiness that it was for his benefit; but, alas! the application of them the tribune reserved for himself.

In every account of his actions to the pope, he made the Holy Ghost their author. The name of the Holy Ghost was used in every phrase, with a small variation only of his attributes. "So great is the grace, so great is the goodness, so great is the clemency, so great is the inspiration, so great is the assistance, the fire and fervour of the Holy Ghost, who enlightened and animated him," he said, "in all his designs."

But to come to the principal motive of this letter, he made high complaints not only of the manifest partiality of the two lieutenants of the pope in favour of his enemies, but also of their bad conduct,

and their prevarication in the execution of justice. Having called John de Vic an enemy to God and the holy apostles, St. Peter and Paul, whose cause, said he, I will espouse, and a traitor and rebel to the pope's sacred Romans, as well as to his person and government, he informed his holiness of the sentence he had pronounced in full senate against him, and that he actually kept him closely besieged at Viterbo. He thus addressed himself to the holy father:—

"It is a grief to me to tell, much more to undergo the obstacles I meet with, from the persons from whom I expected favour and support. The rector of the patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, burying in oblivion the mischiefs which that traitor, John de Vic, hath brought upon the church of Rome, as well as upon his own person, hath joined in an impious league with him, and without right or reason furnished him with succours to support his rebellion against the Romans. The count in the provinces acts in like manner with the count de Fondi.

"I should have rejoiced to conceal from your holiness the wickedness of these two officers, but the notoriousness and evidence of their crimes will admit of no screen. Both of them, I call God to witness, have an insatiable thirst after gold; no zeal, no regard for justice or the honour of the church and your holiness. The rector favours the attempt, and espouses

the interest of those tyrants who possess themselves of your lands and those of the church; instead of recalling, as he can and ought to do, if he had the least regard for your honour, many poor families banished by the tyrants, he leaves them abandoned and dispersed about in other countries.

" As to the count in the provinces, he for a small sum absolved Noffi and Chicci de Checano, who first robbed and afterwards murdered one of their parents, with two of their children: he absolved likewise the count de Fondi, who perfidiously and treacherously assassinated Francis de Checano and Reynold de Murolo, whom he had invited to dine with him; and who caused above an hundred foreigners to be robbed and inhumanly killed in his territories, who were passing to Rome, and from thence to Smyrna, during the time of the holy war. The same count absolved also John de Pileo, for one hundred florins, the heinous sin of parricide. To conclude, Angelo de Montaleon, the count's brother, is set out at the head of four companies of horse to assist the Hungarians against the interests of the church.

" I leave it to your holiness's consideration," continued the Tribune, " whether or not a conduct so guilty becomes those officers who command under your name.

" Let me beseech your sacred clemency, then, with all respect, earnestness and humility, by the affection

it bears the city of Rome and all the provinces appertaining to it, to give such orders to those who command, whom in veneration of your holiness I honour as my fathers, as may wipe away the scandal which this division between them and your Romans hath occasioned, and prevent the like mischievous consequences for the future."

He repeated at the conclusion of his letter the confusion which the two lieutenants had caused, and the danger a country lies exposed to, when the master of it is long absent.

"I cannot pass by in silence," said he, "an abominable custom introduced by the aforesaid governors of the provinces, sea-ports and patrimony. The subaltern officers quartered in the towns and castles, prevent the judges in those places executing justice, by compounding for murders, robberies, and other crimes, with those who commit them; taxing murder at ten florins, and the rest in proportion; which trifling recompence, or to speak more properly, impunity, is become by the most pernicious example an incitement to commit them.

"As to the rest, I freely offer to make good and prove all that I have here advanced, upon pain of excommunication and eternal damnation."

Having sent these despatches away, Rienzi lost no time; he made known to his army that he was coming to join them with fresh forces, and carry on

the war with greater vigour than ever. This was sufficient to alarm the prefect de Vic. That governor, who till now had never staggered but held out bravely, notwithstanding the desolation the army had made in sight of him, upon advice of the tribune's preparing to come in person against him, was struck with terror: the idea only of the presence of a man who had rendered himself formidable throughout Italy, had a much greater effect upon him than the view of the dismal havoc which his numerous army had made. He surrendered, and sent deputies to the tribune to procure a peace. The tribune made the same propositions he had often sent to the governor, which were in effect, that John de Vic should come in person to Rome to submit himself to the people and the tribune, and surrender the castle of Respampano; upon these conditions he should continue prefect of Viterbo, and the other places he possessed, and be restored to all his titles and dignities, which the sentence declared forfeited.

John de Vic, terrified at the invincible inflexibility of Rienzi, and the detention of the two lords, Stephen Colonna and Jordan de Marini, who were kept prisoners a long time, accepted the propositions without hesitation. In conformity to this treaty he set out for Rome, escorted however by sixty troopers. He entered the capitol about three o'clock in the afternoon; he was very uneasy, not-

withstanding his escort, upon seeing all the gates shut in an instant, and hearing the capitol bell ring to call together the people, who assembled in a moment. The tribune soon put him in heart again. He summoned his senate (as he used to call these sort of farces), on purpose to show the governor the grandeur of the Romans and the dignity of the tribune. He acquainted them, that John de Vic had voluntarily submitted to the people; upon which account he again invested him in the prefecture of Viterbo, and restored to him his other prerogatives, that he might seem to hold all from the tribune, who had the power to confer or take away places and honours. In the meanwhile he had the policy to detain the prefect, and continue the blockade at Viterbo, until he was assured that the fort Respampano was put into the hands of the syndic of Rome.

An accident happened which contributed not a little to the cheats of Rienzi, who would have passed for a man inspired from above; and the folly of the people in believing that he was so. The night before the agreement with the governor of Viterbo, as the tribune slept on one of his superb beds, which equalled in magnificence those of sovereign princes, being in his first sleep, he cried out with a loud voice, "Leave me, leave me." His valets de chambre run: "Where is my lord? What will you

be pleased, sire, to have?" He awaked. "Nothing," said he, "I was dreaming; methought a monk in white came to me, and said, take the rock of Respampano, I yield it to you; upon which he squeezed my hand, which made me cry out in that manner." This dream was verified in every respect the next day. Among the besieged at Viterbo, there was a knight called Brother Acuto d'Assise, of the order of Hospitalers, a man singularly renowned for virtue. The monastics of all orders, moved with the devastations the army made in the country, earnestly beseeched him to interpose, and endeavour to bring about an accommodation between the Romans and the prefect of Viterbo; they prevailed with him at length to grant their request. He arrived at Rome he day after the dream, at the very time Rienzi was sitting in his tribunal and giving audience to the people, who filled the whole market-place. Brother Acuto appeared at the corner of the street, cloathed in white, riding on an ass with white housing, carrying in his hand and upon his head olive branches in tokens of peace, and surrounded by a vast multitude of people. As far distant as the tribune was, he cried out, "Behold the monk in my dream." The compliments paid him upon this occasion were amazing; the infatuated Romans believed the knight to be the identical monk in the dream, who said to Rienzi, "Take the rock of Respampano, I yield

it to you." The knight returned soon afterwards, the castle was surrendered, the Roman army returned in triumph, and, like the knight, crowned with olive branches.

It was not without reason the tribune was so resolutely bent upon the possession of this fortress. He knew well that other important places would immediately submit to his citation upon the surrender of it; that when they understood the only man, who had dared to hold his head up, had been obliged to throw himself at his feet, they would follow immediately his example. Thus within the space of a few months he put in execution his eighth regulation, in regard to the fortified places, which he wanted to be sole master of in the name of the people; a regulation accounted chimerical and impracticable by all men of sense. This expedition was the more considerable, as it produced the submission of the count de Fondi, who, notwithstanding he was underhand (as was before observed) supported by the count in the provinces, was unable to withstand the forces of John Colonna, whom the tribune sent against him; and surrendered himself, with the countries he governed, as the prefect of Viterbo had done.

Rienzi, in bringing these places under his subjection, rendered himself as powerful without the walls of Rome as he already had within. He was now so formidable, that no lord, however rich or numerous

his house, presumed to make the least opposition. He made all the grandees of Rome tremble. He placed them at certain hours in their ranks at his court, where they appeared in his presence with an humility that drew pity even from the people, who some months before had felt the severe effects of their pride and cruelty. He built a magnificent chapel in the capitol, encompassed with iron rails; he kept a numerous clergy, who celebrated mass with the utmost pomp and solemnity. Rienzi in this chapel was seated on a throne, with the Roman nobility before him, always standing with their arms crossed upon their breasts. Fear and interest made them all cringe to him, and attend at the appointed times his levee. Even those whose places kept them at a distance from Rome, were not less earnest in making their court to him. The governor of Viterbo, for whom the tribune had shown so little regard, to convince him of his respect and attachment, sent his son with a superb equipage to live near his person as a pledge of his fidelity.

Women, whose husbands are elevated to a superior rank in the world, generally assume an air of grandeur even superior to them. The consort of Rienzi, whose youth and beauty, added to the splendour of her fortune, on her part maintained with more magnificence the rank in which the elevation of her husband had fixed her. Whenever she ap-

peared in public, if she went no farther than St. Peter's church, she was attended by a court more brilliant than that of Rienzi. A train of ladies of the first quality followed her, as her ladies of honour; a troop of young gentlemen in arms escorted her, and a number of young ladies walked before her with fans in their hands to prevent the heat and the flies discommoding her. The whole family of Rienzi partook of his fortune. He had an uncle, named Barbieri, who was in reality a barber both by name and profession; to blot out the ignominy of his profession, he changed his name to that of John Roscio, and he was raised to the highest places in the government. He always appeared in public on horseback, accompanied by the chiefs of Rome, who were in hopes of obtaining favours of the nephew by their respects shown to the uncle. Rienzi had also a sister, a widow, whom the lord of Castella thought not unworthy to espouse. He advanced all his relations in general according to their degrees of proximity, and made them lords, without any regard to their capacity or merit.

BOOK V.

RIENZI had now established so great a reputation over Italy by his unwearied and upright administration of justice, that all principalities and powers, the most remote, appealed to his tribunal as universal judge; a character he supported with uncommon dignity. At his first summons both plaintiff and defendant left their habitations and estates to throw themselves at his feet: his decrees were looked upon as oracles, from whence there could be no appeal. The guilty foreigner received from him a penance equal to that of his own subjects. A Jew immensely rich was murdered by a Perusian without the least discovery or suspicion of the murder; the affair was brought before the tribune as the Solomon of the age. Numbers of unfortunate foreigners, banished by faction their native country, threw themselves into his arms, and implored his interest to be restored: he gave them his promise, and he fulfilled it. The roads of Rome were night and day filled

with travellers, some to plead before him their causes, some to partake of the benefit of trade and commerce, which he had happily revived, and others merely to gratify their curiosity in seeing a man who governed in so wonderful a manner. The inns of Rome were neither large nor numerous enough to entertain the vast multitudes that flocked from all parts: victuallers were obliged to rebuild their houses, laid almost in ruins by the confusion of the preceding administration. The affluence of the merchants plainly demonstrated the flourishing condition the tribune had flattered himself he should procure for them. Many noble, though unfortunate exiles appeared again, and enjoyed the blessings of a tranquillity they had long since been strangers to.

The tribune, flushed with his success, judged no time so proper as the present to make himself in appearance, what he undeniably was in reality, absolute master. Although the pope's vicar, whom he had politically desired for his associate in the government, had never yet taken the least umbrage at his proceedings, he declared he could no longer suffer that good prelate to administer with him. Desirous always of managing the holy father, he at the same time sent an ambassador to Avignon, to acquaint that court with the prodigious progress of what he was pleased to call the Good Establishment. The pope and cardinals were so surprised at the information,

that the ambassador on his return assured Rienzi they could not persuade themselves it was true: if it was, that it carried at least every appearance of a miracle. But the news which came from all quarters, and the splendour of the numerous embassies at Rome from all the countries of Italy, as well as the kingdoms adjacent, soon removed their doubts, and set the matter beyond all dispute.

It was not the exiled, the oppressed only, who came to plead at the tribunal of Rienzi. States, republics, and crowned heads made at the same bar their appearance. The ambassadors, who arrived at Rome almost at the same time, gave such a lustre to the glory of the tribune, as caused the Romans to imagine the time was now approaching, when Rome (according to his predictions) should behold kings laying down on heaps their sceptres, and acknowledging her to be the seat of empire. There was no considerable state in Italy but sent an ambassador extraordinary—Florence, Arrezo, Velletri, Trivoli, Fologni, &c. Every ambassador was of the highest distinction by birth, merit, and knowledge. All offered the Romans, in the person of the tribune, from their respective masters, men and money for the benefit of the good establishment. Such effect had the name of Rienzi, resounded over Europe, upon its potentates! Perusa sent two ambassadors for each of its cinque ports, all of the first quality, and

attended each by ten soldiers, who formed a sort of little army, and often shone at the tournaments of Rome.

Florence no less distinguished herself by the magnificence of her embassy. The republic of Venice sent a letter sealed with lead, wherein she offered all her subjects and possessions to that idol, the good establishment. The tyrant of Milan Luchino Visconti, joined heart and hand, and determined to follow the plan, in order to suppress the power of his own nobility, yet proceed with prudence and caution. It was particularly remarkable that Gaeta, willing to free herself from the pope's dominion, sent the tribune a present of ten thousand florins, which he accepted without the least scruple or hesitation. A proof sufficient, notwithstanding all his protestations, of his regard for the court of Avignon.

The tribune found not at first the same favourable dispositions in some of the other petty tyrants of Lombardy. The governor of Bologna, the marquis of Ferrara, the governors of Verona and Mantua, and several more, had at first sent couriers only without any regard; but afterwards, upon mature deliberation on all that had passed, they sent their ambassadors with the same pomp and the same offers as the other princes.

The embassy of the emperor, although a private

one, was more honourable than all the rest for Rienzi, upon account of the esteem and confidence of so puissant a monarch. Lewis duke of Bavaria, had (as we have observed before) been excommunicated by the pope the preceding year, and seen his rival Charles of Luxembourg nominated by his holiness emperor, and who, by the death of his father king John, killed at the battle of Cressy the 26th of August, 1346, became king of Bohemia.

The duke of Bavaria, tired with the troublesome life he had led for the space of thirty-two years since his election, occasioned by his divisions with the popes in Germany and Italy, made new efforts to bring about a reconciliation with the holy see. He conceived a high opinion of Rienzi, and made choice of him as his most efficacious mediator with Clement VI. to procure a sincere accommodation, and take off his excommunication, which he had sent by the hands of his ambassadors. We shall see presently with what air the tribune undertook the management of this affair, vainly imagining himself the arbiter of every prince and potentate.

Two crowned heads courted his protection, and submitted to his arbitration. But of all the embassies he had yet received, none yielded his glory so great a lustre as that sent him about the beginning of October, upon occasion of the tragical death of Andrew king of Naples. Before we relate an event

so memorable to posterity, and glorious to Rienzi, it is highly necessary to go back to those that happened some time before.

Robert king of Naples died on the 19th of January, 1343, in the eightieth year of his age, and thirty-third of his reign. "He was," says Villani, "the wisest king the christian world had beheld for five centuries past. A prince of vast sense and knowledge, a great divine, and an excellent philosopher; he was a kind master, a lover of his people; endowed with every virtue; he was indeed in his old age somewhat covetous, yet that foible was excusable upon account of the wars of Sicily, which he was desirous of recovering. Such a lover of the sciences, that being one day rallied for a taste so uncommon in princes, he replied, he would sooner renounce his crown than his book."

As his son the duke of Calabria was dead, who left issue two daughters very young, Robert, on his death-bed, thought to cut a masterly stroke of policy, and restore his kingdom to the children of Charobert, who was of an elder branch and king of Hungary, by marrying these two young princesses to the sons of that monarch. The one of them, whose name was Andrew, he sent for to his court, and gave him in marriage the princess Jane, presumptive heiress to the kingdom of Naples, upon condition that the crown should descend to the youngest princess, if

the eldest should happen to die without issue, and that prince Andrew, whom he had created duke of Calabria, should by no means be proclaimed king, nor his princess queen, till he had attained to the age of twenty-two, and she to that of twenty-five. Robert died and left a vast treasure to the princess Jane and her consort, for whom she had no love. Robert had left the administration of the kingdom to his second wife Sanche of Arragon (who retired soon after to a convent), Philip bishop of Cavaillon, and other lords. Ambition and the power of a crown soon embarrassed that court, deprived of an old king who had long governed it, devoted to a wicked ministry, ruled by a young queen and her sister, and further embroiled by Clement VI., who pretended that the government of the kingdom of Naples belonged to him by right during the minority of queen Jane. He sent thither cardinal Americus de Chatelus his legate in Italy, after he had declared by a bull, dated in November 28, 1343, that king Robert had no power to nominate the guardians of queen Jane, at least not for the time specified in his will, that what he had done was invalid, and that, upon pain of excommunication, he charged the administrators nominated not to accept of the charge.

During these troubles Charles de Duras, by means of his uncle cardinal de Talayrand, obtained a dispensation from the pope to espouse the princess

Mary, sister to the young queen his relation, who, by the will of Robert, was designed for Lewis, eldest son of the king of Hungary. But the ambition of Charles, who by this marriage would have cleared a way to the throne without the least regard to the will of Robert, cost him soon afterwards a life, as he was supposed to be concerned in the murder of Andrew, in order to mount himself thereupon, which horrid crime and bloody tragedy it was also thought his uncle the cardinal gave a sanction to. Be that as it may, it is certain that queen Jane gave her consort a perpetual uneasiness. Her youth, her imprudence, her light behaviour, and the intrigues of her court, contributed to make his marriage unhappy, and cause him to fall a victim at the age of nineteen, on September 18, 1345. The king was as ready as the count was averse to go to the bed of the queen his consort. He was called away upon some pretence of business of consequence. He was obliged to come through a gallery where were several lords with their officers. He had scarcely come out of his wife's apartment, before they suddenly shut the door upon him, and seized his person.

One assassin gagged his mouth to prevent his outcry, a second threw a slip knot over his head, while a third pulled him by the feet. No cruelty was omitted to hasten the death of this unfortunate prince. The murderers threw him out of the win-

dow in order to bury the body immediately, that their guilt might be concealed, but were prevented by a domestic, an Hungarian, who saw them, and made an outcry, which obliged them to make off without executing their design. The queen was universally suspected of being an accomplice in this black affair, but never proved so. Several historians have accused her; several have justified her. Those who have accused her pretend that one day, when she was twisting a string of gold and silk, her husband asked her for whom she was making that; she replied, To strangle you, my dear. A reply that had no great probability of earnest, but seemed rather a banter. King Andrew might give some reason for dislike in a court so widely different from that of Hungary, wherein he had been educated. He let fall after this incident some menaces in presence of the queen and some lords of the court, whereby he intimated, that as soon as he was crowned, he should take revenge on all those who had before offended him. But without entering farther into the discussion of an intrigue, which must always remain in obscurity, it is sufficient to say, that this grand event became the discourse of all Europe, and procured for Rienzi a character the most glorious for a sovereign, that of being arbiter of the differences subsisting between the princes of the earth his contemporaries.

Lewis of Anjou, first of that name, king of Hungary, and brother of Andrew, sent to the tribune two ambassadors to notify the solemn embassy he was preparing to send to him, to make interest with him and the people of Rome for vengeance upon the murderer of king Andrew, and to put the affair entirely into his hands by appointing him the judge. The tribune, elevated to the highest degree at a deputation of such importance, resolved to grant an audience in so distinguishing a manner as should convey to his own people and foreigners the grandest ideas of the majesty of his tribunal. It was on a Saturday, the usual day he came to administer justice to the public, and inflict penalties on transgressors, he appeared with a crown and a leaden sceptre with a globe and cross. When the two ambassadors, who were dressed in green velvet, and were persons of quality, were brought before the tribune, he began his discourse from the last verse of the ninety-sixth psalm :—" For he cometh to judge the earth, and with righteousness to judge the world and the people with his truth;" upon which he expounded to the Romans. He acquainted them with the cause of this embassy, and the importance of an affair, wherein a great king sent to demand justice for the assassination of a sovereign prince his brother.

The queen of Naples showed no less eagerness to

engage him. She sent her ambassador with letters full of courtesy to Rienzi, and a private present of five hundred florins and several jewels to his consort, to engage her to prevail with him to favour her cause. Charles, duke de Duras, who was in the interest of the queen, and who was accused by the king of Hungary of having been the principal author of the death of his brother, sent likewise to implore his protection, and made great offers to him in a most obliging letter, which was thus addressed, "To our dearest Friend." But Lewis, prince of Taranto, who was the most interested in this unhappy affair, having taken in second marriage queen Jane, a year after the murder of Andrew, exceeded all in the quality and train of his ambassadors. His embassy was composed of one archbishop of the order of St. Francis, a great divine, one nobleman, knight of the golden spur, and one magistrate distinguished by his robes, with a numerous retinue in fine liveries, made at Rome a most splendid appearance.

The archbishop, admitted to an audience in presence of the people, took for his text the first verse of the twelfth chapter of the first book of Maccabees:—"Now when Jonathan saw that the time served him, he chose certain men and sent them to Rome, for to confirm and renew the friendship that they had with them." He made an artful allegory and a proper application of the whole chapter, after which he

complimented the tribune upon the good establishment, to which he offered, on the part of his master, to contribute; he told him the motives of his journey, and implored the aid of the Romans against the efforts of the king of Hungary. The tribune, who was as well versed in the scripture as the prelate, answered every part of his allegory with a vivacity that amazed the archbishop. Upon taking leave he could not refrain from declaring that Rienzi was a most incomparable man for knowledge, memory and wisdom.

It was certainly a glory to him, to have such a cause as this brought before his tribunal, and be tried in presence of the Romans. The tribune was sitting on his seat of justice, as chosen and acknowledged judge by two crowned heads. On one side were those of counsel for the king of Hungary, who with great eloquence set forth the horrid attempt made upon the person of the king of Naples, a young prince whose virtues rendered him worthy a better fate. They pleaded in the most pathetic terms that he had been drawn to Naples against his own inclination; that as soon as he arrived, in a manner his wife was torn from his arms under false pretences, but with all appearance of a design premeditated; that the queen, his wife, had artfully been prevailed upon, by shutting the door upon him, to put him in the power of his assassins; that five

or six of the principal lords of the court were actually seen in that fatal gallery where the unfortunate prince was strangled; that as soon as they had executed their impious purposes, they threw the royal body out of the window, vainly imagining to bury with it their own infamy. But providence, that never suffers crimes so monstrous to pass unpunished, permitted an Hungarian to be an eye-witness of that dismal spectacle, and prevent by his outcry the assassins burying the innocent and spotless corpse.

They endeavoured afterwards to demonstrate, in a manner that appeared very plausible, that it was impossible to justify the queen from having embrued her hands, in some measure, in her husband's blood; that she could not be utterly ignorant (not to mention the premeditated design) of that barbarous attack; that the circumstances of the day, the hour, the place, the assassins, all plead against her, and still more particularly her amazing negligence in not searching out and bringing to punishment the actors of that bloody tragedy. They omitted no argument (as is usual in causes of less importance), to insist upon circumstances, when proofs are wanting, upon words of double meaning, upon the behaviour of a widow after the decease of her husband; that the queen had scarcely the decency to wait the expiration of the usual time of mourning; no sooner were the twelve months elapsed, but she married again.

They concluded with addresses to the tribune, that they were persuaded he could not so far contradict the high reputation he had gained over all nations for uprightness and justice, as to countenance a treason so foul and shocking to the ears of all men. That in the high place he filled with so much dignity, he could not help seconding the just vengeance, which the king of Hungary was preparing to take upon the heads of the assassination of his innocent brother and king. That it would tend to his glory to assemble all his forces; by which Europe, now waiting with impatience the issue of this important cause, would be convinced that crimes like this of murdering crowned heads, had no enemy so formidable as himself.

On the other side those of council for queen Jane, set forth the moving case of this unhappy young princess, whose crown they wanted to take away. That she lamented much her fate in seeing a husband fall, who ought to have been her support: to be reduced to the cruel necessity of demonstrating her innocency of a crime, which occasioned all her misfortunes, and to find herself answerable for the caprice and perfidy of his subjects. That she well knew with what eye of jealousy the kings of Hungary looked upon the crown of Naples during the life of king Robert; that the dissensions upon this account were rather suspended than smothered

during a reign so long and happy; that therefore she prudently determined to reconcile all pretensions and keep the sceptre in the family, by consenting to marry Andrew of the elder branch; that this marriage was so agreeable to their mutual interest, that it was most astonishing even to suspect she could sacrifice her crown, in sacrificing him who was its protector and guardian. That it was shameful to imagine intrigues among those little gaieties and juvenile pastimes, which were most innocent in a court where politeness and refined taste were as conspicuous as formality and austerity in that of Hungary. That the whole kingdom, but particularly the city of Naples, were witnesses of her unfeigned sorrow and affliction. That they were sensible of the orders she issued for the apprehending and punishing the assassins by a particular commission. That if she had, after a year's widowhood, married again, it was merely out of regard and love for the kingdom deprived of its sovereign, and to put the sceptre into hands capable of holding it with dignity and maintaining it against its enemies. That all these suppositions, by the masterly strokes of art converted to realities, were the result only of the envy, hatred and ambition of Lewis, who coveted her crown. Yet she was in hopes heaven would not yet abandon her, and that the tribune, raised by Providence to be the asyle of injured innocence, would

not suffer an unfortunate young princess to be oppressed; who had no other crime than an envied crown, no other enemy than an ambitious brother-in-law, and no other refuge than her arms, the eqnity of her cause, and the protection of the most equitable of all men.

The tribune, surrounded by his officers and a crowded court of Romans, endeavoured to plead on both sides with a dignity, which the importance of the cause in question, the rank of the persons interested, and the title of arbiter, they had pleased to confer on him, required. But he took care not to give judgment too hastily, lest he should appear partial in an event which he resolved to make serviceable to his vast designs. He considered, that on the one hand to grant protection to a princess, whom the voice of the people seemed to condemn, would affect his honour; and that on the other hand to contribute to the resentment of the king of Hungary, and thereby render a powerful neighbour formidable, would affect his policy. He therefore thought it best to declare, that an affair of such consequence required a longer time for decision; that he would examine with the chiefs of the Romans the pleadings on both sides, and after pronouncing to which party justice was due, he would, with his own arm and all the forces of the republic, support the judgment pronounced.

The king of Hungary had already had recourse to action. He had sent into the kingdom of Naples count Bons, who, with some troops, possessed himself of Aquila, a town in the farther Abruzzo. It was this count who negociated with Rienzi in the name of the king, his master, upon the affair of Naples. Rienzi obtained a suspension of arms until the arrival and return of the ambassador he was preparing to send him. He likewise sent to queen Jane, and to the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, making fine speeches to both, and pretending a strong inclination to consent to their requests. But if credit is to be given to Clement VI.'s letter, the tribune had other views than those of adjusting the disputes brought before his tribunal. He was determined to amuse equally both parties, the king of Hungary, and the queen of Naples, in favour of Lewis of Bavaria, and make use of the one and the other in aggrandising himself. His policy in amusing the queen, was to dispossess her of her dominions by the means of her brother-in-law, upon condition of her paying the succours which he had promised her in a secret treaty for the county of Provence, which belonged to that princess, and which, for the future, was to be under the government of the Romans. In regard to the king of Hungary, he made a secret league with the emperor Lewis for the conquest of Sicily, which ought, according to the opinion of

Rienzi, to descend to one of the sons of the emperor. By this double deceit he obtained an interest with Lewis of Bavaria, to attain to that power and that kind of universal monarchy, of which he had formed the plan. The armies were already in motion to unravel the schemes, of which the king of Hungary and queen Jane were the dupes. Every spring of this intrigue moved secretly, until all were broken by the death of Lewis of Bavaria, and by the revolutions, which some time after ensued.

To crown all these embassies, Rienzi, about the same time, received letters replete with civility from the pope, who complimented him therein upon the good establishment. After the example of Clement, the major part of the cardinals and prelates at the court of Avignon made him their compliments, artfully insinuating nevertheless, that for the sake of piety he should take care of the patrimony of the church, and respect her as a good mother.

But among all the numerous embassies received from, or sent to, all parts, the tribune gave his attention as constantly for the good order of the city, as at the first days of his administration. Public safety remained entire. Sincerity and honesty were found in the markets, where fraud and deceit used to triumph; cheating and tricking were effectually banished; the purchaser was sure he should not be cheated in his commodity either in quantity or qua-

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lity; the seller was obliged to declare this is good, and this is not. Upon the least complaint of the contrary made to the tribune, satisfaction was immediately given. He continued inexorable against robbery; seldom were any committed; one, however, happened at the Castle de Capranica. The news soon reached Rome; Rienzi summoned the Count Bertollo, lord of the castle, and laid a vast fine upon him for not taking better care of the roads within his territories. By such measures as these he firmly established good order, and let other sovereigns see, that policy is as necessary in a government as an army.

Nor was his severity against murder the least abated. Two couriers happened to meet at an inn, one of them perceiving the other had money, killed and robbed him while he was sleeping, and then made his escape; the murderer was soon apprehended and brought to Rome; he received the sentence invented by cruel Mezence, to be buried alive in the same coffin with the body of the murdered; which sentence was accordingly executed with the utmost rigour.

BOOK VI.

It was reasonable to imagine that the tribune was now arrived at the summit of glory; and that having beheld all Italy, and crowned heads prostrate before him, he had nothing more to covet on the part of ambition. In the meantime the very man, who was powerful enough to make himself esteemed higher than the kings he had seen pleading at his tribunal, had frenzy enough to be made a knight; without considering that he must enter among the nobility he had humbled, lose in all probability his credit among the people whose rights he maintained, and that the title of knight must be a disparagement to the dignity of tribune. Either from a subtlety of policy, or from an intoxication of prosperity, he made known his intention, and fixed on the first of August for the ceremony. Pursuing still his romantic notions of ancient grandeur, he fancied that a number of festivals one after another equalled the magnificence of the old Romans. By these pompous shows he

thought also that he should engage the ambassadors to continue at Rome the whole month of August. Some days before the festival, which he resolved to make, he ordered the palace of Constantine, that of the pope, and the numerous apartments of St. John de Lateran, to be fitted up. He caused a prodigious quantity of tables to be made out of the remainder of the wood, that had been taken from the noblemen's houses, and made communications from one place to another for the accommodation of the officers.

These preparations drew a mighty concourse of people to Rome from the adjacent towns to be spectators of a sight so new. On the day appointed, all the streets through which the procession was to pass were lined with people. It began about three in the afternoon in the following manner:—First, a great number of horse, composed of all the ambassadors, foreigners and citizens, barons and burghers, all richly apparelled, and marching with ensigns and music, all in good order. They were followed by a large company of masks, dancers, and tumblers, with timbrels, bagpipes, and other instruments. Then the tribune's lady on foot, but preceded by two equerries who held the gilded bits of a most superb horse richly caparisoned. She was accompanied by her mother, and escorted by a brilliant train of ladies, who attended rather through fear than affection.

Several trumpeters blowing by turns separated the procession of the ladies from that of the tribune. Next came a cavalcade of young gentlemen armed with lances. They distinguished themselves by the management of their horses, and by the various evolutions they made them perform. Twice they threw off their cloaks for tilting. At length appeared the tribune, with the pope's vicar on his left. Before him marched four officers, one of them carrying a naked sword, which he held high above his head; the second displayed the standard, on which was a sun in the middle of stars, with a dove carrying in his beak an olive branch; the third showed the people a steel sceptre, which was the mark of the office of tribune; and the fourth dispersed among the crowd a new sort of money, which the tribune had ordered to be coined. A body of nobility surrounded his person. He distinguished himself by his long robe of white satin wrought with gold, but more by the air of majesty which he displayed, among a guard of fifty men. With this retinue he proceeded to the church of St. John de Lateran, which he made choice of for the ceremony of his installation.

When he entered at night, he went up to the chapel of pope Boniface, from whence he could see and hear the people. He immediately assumed his prophetic air, and thus addressed them: "People who give ear to me, understand; my design is this

evening to be made a knight: retire and return to-morrow. You shall hear those things that shall glorify God in Heaven, and give joy to men upon earth." This speech, together with the novelty of the festival, gave the people great satisfaction. Every thing was carried on without disturbance, except two men happening to have words, drew upon each other, but they presently sheathed again, and made up the quarrel; such impression had fear and respect on the minds of all. When the people withdrew, the priests began the office, after which the tribune performed an exploit, which in the end occasioned him much trouble. He resolved to take away the famous marble bathing vessel, wherein the emperor Constantine bathed himself, it is said, after he had been healed of a leprosy by pope Sylvester. This monument having always since been deemed sacred, it was looked upon as an indecent liberty in the tribune to take it away; the clergy were greatly astonished, but they were obliged to keep their murmurs secret. Upon removing the vessel, he made the chevalier Vic Scuotto gird his sword round about him. To add to this indecency he committed another, far greater. He went to bed in a particular place of the church, inclosed by pillars, and called St. John's Font. Upon his stepping into bed, an accident happened, which in that superstitious age, was looked upon as an ill omen. The bed, notwith-

standing it was entirely new, fell to the ground under him, and in that condition he was obliged to lay all night.

The next day in the morning he put on a purple robe, and made his minister, De Vic Scuotto, gird again his sword about him, who by the force of gold, was strongly attached to him. People flocked from all parts to the church to see the tribune in the new habit of a knight. His majestic carriage attracted fresh admiration and respect. He was seated upon a throne in the chapel of pope Boniface, and surrounded as usual with the principal officers of his court, the Roman and foreign nobility, who were attentive to the wonders he declared to them. He suspended the public curiosity by an act of piety. He caused a solemn mass to be celebrated with all the pomp and grandeur usual at the coronation of kings: in the middle of the service he arose from his seat, and advanced towards the people: he then with a loud voice said, "We summon to our tribunal pope Clement VI. and order him to come and reside at Rome, his proper seat. In like manner we summon the whole sacred college." Afterwards he summoned Charles, king of Bohemia, lately elected emperor, and Lewis of Bavaria, who had the title of emperor, with all the electors who had proclaimed Charles, king of the Romans. "I should be glad," continued he, "to know from them the reasons that

induced them to such an election, and upon what foundation they arrogated to themselves a right which appertains solely to the Romans, who have time immemorial been sovereign arbiters of the empire." This said, he drew his sword, and flourishing it, pointed to three corners of the globe, crying out aloud at each, "This is mine, this is mine, this is mine."

Raymond, the pope's vicar, having heard the holy father summoned without murmuring, and quietly assisted during the whole mystery, at length awakened. He had the courage to protest in the name of the pope, that what he had seen and heard was entirely without his participation and Clement's consent. At the same time he ordered a notary to draw a declaration and read it. No sooner had the notary began to read, but Rienzi made all the trumpets sound, and the bagpipes and other instruments play, which entirely prevented the people from understanding one word of the protest.

When mass was ended, the tribune invited the people to an entertainment he had prepared in the three neighbouring palaces; he went himself to the old hall of St. John de Lateran. He took his place at a marble table, whereon the popes used to dine. He had but two covers, one for himself, the other for the bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar. The new knight appeared very brilliant in the rich purple

robe he was arrayed in; his hat was trimmed with diamonds. The other tables, set at some distance from his, were for the ambassadors, the nobility, and the gentry. The knight's lady entertained all the ladies, both Roman and foreign, in the pope's new palace. The rest of the apartments below in the three palaces were filled with the people who chose to come. Not one person was refused, all sat down without distinction of age, condition, or profession. Notwithstanding the vast multitude, their tables were served in as much order, as abundance and profusion. Water was more scarce than wine. During the repast a number of antics and tumblers danced backwards and forwards to divert the company with their odd gestures and grotesque postures. The whole entertainment was conducted in a manner worthy the greatest of princes. At night the tribune returned to the capitol attended by the same cavalcade and in the same order, highly pleased with the success he promised himself from this new dignity. The next day to put it in practice, he ordered the acts of citation against the pope and the emperor to be drawn up in form, and sent immediately couriers with them to Avignon and Germany. The act sent to the emperor, (the only one at present to be found) is very curious and singular, and is as follows:—

" For the honour and glory of God Almighty, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the blessed apostles

Peter and Paul, and St. John the Baptist, in whose sacred temple we have received the military honour of knighthood; for the honour and reverence of the church of Rome our mother; for the prosperity of the sovereign pontiff; for the advancement of the sacred city of Rome, Italy, and all the Christian world; we, the new soldier of the Holy Ghost, Nicholas severe and clement, deliverer of Rome, zealot of Italy, lover of the whole world, tribune august; desirous and willing to imitate the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the liberty of the ancient Romans, make known unto all men, that from the time we accepted of the high office of tribune, the Romans, with the advice of the judges, magistrates, and other eminent persons, have been satisfied that they have the sole right of authorising power and dominion upon earth, and that they have made all privileges, derogatory to that right, invalid and of no force.

"We, therefore, by virtue of this authority and absolute power, placed by the Romans in full senate in our hands, that we may not appear insensible of the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and the favours conferred upon us by the Romans, and that we may no longer suffer them to be deprived of their rights, do declare and pronounce the city of Rome to be the capitol of the world, and the basis of Christianity, and that all and every one of the cities of Italy are free, and as such shall continue, to the end that they

may rejoice, and partake of the present liberty of Rome.

" By virtue of the same authority we protest and declare, that the election, jurisdiction and monarchy of the whole sacred Roman empire are lawfully invested in the Romans, as we shall at a proper time set forth. In the mean time, we summon by these presents all emperors elect, kings, princes, dukes, counts, and others of pre-eminence in the empire, to appear on the next Whitsunday (the day we have fixed upon before us, and the other officers of our Lord the pope) in the church of St. John de Lateran, then and there to make good their pretensions. Upon failure hereof at the appointed time, they shall be proceeded against according to the rules of equity and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

" And notwithstanding the abovesaid general summons, we cite particularly and personally the illustrious princes Lewis duke of Bavaria, and Charles king of Bohemia, stiled emperors elect. We cite also the duke of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenbourg, and the archbishops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne to appear in person, at the time abovementioned, before us and the other magistrates of Rome. Upon failure hereof they will be proceeded against as criminals, who do not appear before the judge."

At the end of this act, (taken word for word from

the Latin) Rienzi declared, that through the whole he had no ways acted derogatory to the duty he owed the pope and sacred college. A contradiction sufficiently evident. He declared also, that this act was accepted, approved of and published by the Romans assembled in St. John de Lateran, the first day of August 1347, in presence of the pope's vicar, and many persons of distinction whom he named, as well ecclesiastical as civil.

We shall see hereafter the effect this extraordinary piece produced. It seems as if Rienzi considered not so much the issue of it abroad, as the regard and respect it of consequence gave at home to a man, who dared to cite to his tribunal the greatest princes upon earth, even the pope himself. After all, in a character like his, composed of qualities the most contrary and most extravagantly whimsical, governed by the heat of imagination, agitated alone by caprice; executing the most judicious undertakings without judgment, and the most dangerous without courage, it is difficult to discern what views he could have in these kind of enterprises, wherein appeared more extravagance than policy. To keep the people always in spirits, and amuse them with new sights, on the day of assumption he appointed a new ceremony, which attracted no less their attention than the former. He pretended to imitate the ancient tribunes, who caused themselves (he said) to

be crowned. He went on the day appointed to the church of St. John de Lateran, where he was presented with seven crowns, in allusion to seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, whose signs and mysteries he impudently blended with the superstitious ceremonies of the pagans. The first crown was oak; the prior of the church de Lateran presented it to him, saying, "Receive the crown of the city for delivering the citizens from death." The prior of St. Peter's, in offering him a crown of ivy, said, "Receive this ivy, for you have loved religion." The third crown, which was myrtle, was presented to him by the dean of St. Paul's: "Receive," said he, "the myrtle, for you have observed your duty, loved instruction, hated avarice." The abbot of St. Laurence without the walls, paid him the same compliment in presenting him the laurel, which he had blessed in the church. The olive was presented to him by the prior of St. Mary the Great, who said, "Humble man, take this crown of olive, for your humility hath made you triumph over pride." The sixth crown was silver. The prior of the Holy Ghost in Rocca, put it upon his head, and gave him the sceptre in his hand, saying, "Tribune august, receive the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the spiritual crown represented by this crown and sceptre." The chevalier Godefroy for the seventh crown presented him branches of fruit trees, saying, "Tribune august, receive and love the

symbol of justice, give us in return liberty and peace." The vicar d'Ostie was chosen to set these crowns in order, and the archbishop of Naples appointed to take care of that of silver. As soon as the tribune was crowned, he had a beggar, armed with a sword, ready by his side to take the crowns off his head, imitating in this humility the ancient triumphers, who on the day of their triumph calmly bore the insults of the licentious soldiers. With such a mixture of grimace and grandeur did Rienzi blend sacred and profane, and sully alike the majesty of the ceremonies, and the excellency of the customs of the Roman empire.

The whole was performed in presence of the ambassadors, whom the tribune had retained, and the most considerable lords of Italy. But from this coronation his credit began to decay. The transient pomp of the ceremonies, with which he had at times amused the Romans, gave way at length to serious reflections. The luxury he affected in his dress and at his table, the numerous splendid retinue for ever attending him, and his sudden change from the austerity of a republic to the magnificence of a monarch, so affected them, that in whispers they asked, what was become of the pristine modesty he displayed with so much address at the beginning of his elevation. They murmured at his profanation of Constantine's monument, and his citation of the vicar of Jesus

Christ, but their murmurs blazed not out. Rienzi, elevated to the highest pitch of his glory, after so many happy successes was more feared than ever, and perceived not the first motives of the veneration they had shown him the least altered.

He imagined he could now attempt any enterprise whatever, and that this was the only time to secure effectually the nobility, by putting to death those noblemen who had the power to give him any future umbrage. On September 14th, 1347, in the morning, he sent an invitation to dinner to the ancient Stephen Colonna, who repaired to the capitol without any suspicion of the danger that attended. Rienzi ordered him immediately to be conducted to a separate apartment under a strong guard. At the same time he seized Peter Agapit Colonna, who had been provost of Marseilles and afterwards senator of Rome; and John Colonna, to whom but a short time before he had given the command of the troops destined against the count de Fondi. Jordan de la Montagne, Reynold de Marino, count Berthold and his son, the lord of the castle St. Angelo, all of the house of Ursini, were likewise brought to the capitol with many other lords. The tribune drew them all into the net he had spread for them; pretending to some that he called them thither to consult upon affairs of importance, and to others, that he gave them an invitation to a feast, among those of the

first rank. Luke de Savell, Stephen Colonna the younger, and Jordan de Marino only escaped the diligent search of the tyrant.

As this proceeding occasioned great emotions at Rome, he gave out that his prisoners were traitors to the government, and that he was obliged to secure them to prevent their evil designs. The credulous people, whom he imposed upon just as he thought fit, doubted not of a conspiracy formed and brought to light. They bestowed a thousand curses on the noblemen, and extolled the moderation of the tribune, who had contented himself with seizing their persons. At night, after calling together the people to the capitol, Rienzi ordered his prisoners to be brought into the great hall. Stephen Colonna, enraged at the unjust treatment he met with and the insolence of the tyrant, could no longer refrain, and without entering into any justification of himself, proposed one question to the assembly:—"Which was best for the people, a profuse or a discreet governor?" This question, which was a severe stroke upon the magnificence which the tribune affected, and the needless expenses and vain profusion of the last festival, gave them room enough for argument. Colonna observing the disposition of the people, took up a lappet of the tribune's gown, and said to them, "A plain habit would better become a tribune of the people than this rich dress you have

bestowed upon him." The intrepidity of Colonna, his majestic countenance, and the whispering his speech occasioned, made Rienzi turn pale. He broke up abruptly the assembly under pretence of being late, and postponing the affair till the next day, he ordered his prisoners to be kept close and well guarded. He had in fact their lives at command, and had nothing to fear from the people, whom he could turn as he pleased, but he had not courage unless assured of support. He was afraid therefore to put his design in execution that night. He retired highly chagrined at what had passed, determined to sacrifice however those lords, as soon as he should obtain the people's consent. They were put into different apartments to prevent all communication. Stephen Colonna was kept in the great hall, without a bed to lie upon. He spent the night in the most cruel agitation, walking up and down the great stairs; sometimes knocking hard at the door, and beseechin gthe sentinel to enter and run him through the body, that he might avoid the infamous punishment and inhumanity of the tyrant, but all in vain; the sentinel would give no ear to him, but barbarously left the venerable old man, who had been governor of Rome, to lament his hard fate, of being reduced to fall a victim to the frenzy of a madman.

The next day the tribune resolving more than ever to rid himself of his prisoners, ordered tapestries of two colours, red and white, to be laid over the place whereon he held his councils, and which he had made choice of to be the theatre of this bloody tragedy, as the extraordinary tapestry seemed to declare. He afterwards sent a cordelier to every one of the prisoners to administer the sacraments, and then ordered the capitol bell to be tolled. At that fatal sound and the sight of the confessors, the lords no longer doubted of sentence of death being passed upon them. They all confessed, except the old Colonna, and many received the communion. In the meanwhile the people, naturally prompt to attend, when their first impetuosity had time to calm, could not without pity behold the dismal preparations which were making. The sight of the bloody colour in the tapestry shocked them. On this first impression they joined in opinion in relation to so many illustrious heads now going to be sacrificed, and lamented more their unhappy catastrophe, as no crime had been proved upon them, to render them worthy of such barbarous treatment. Above all, the unfortunate Stephen Colonna, whose birth, age, and affable behaviour commanded respect, excited a particular compassion. An universal sorrow and silence reigned among them. Those who

were nearest Rienzi, discovered an alteration. They took the opportunity of imploring his mercy towards the prisoners in terms the most affecting and moving.

The tribune, sensible that he had acted too rashly in an affair of such importance, determined to act his part to the best advantage. Keeping the minds of the people in suspense, and concealing his design from them, he commanded the prisoners to be brought to his tribunal. About nine o'clock in the morning they appeared like criminals led to suffer. Notwithstanding the grief and despair visible in their countenances, they showed a noble indignation, generally attendant on innocence in the hour of death. As they imagined they had no farther concerns in this last fatal moment, they endeavoured to justify themselves, and convince the people of their innocence; but the first had no sooner began his speech than the tribune caused those trumpets to sound, that performed so well at the vicar's protest against the pope's citation. This dreadful signal spread an universal belief that the unfortunate lords were now past redemption, and that the executioners were upon the point of executing their office. Rienzi with his accustomed air advanced to harangue them. He began his speech in the words of the Lord's prayer:—"Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." He told them afterwards that it was the duty of all men

mutually to forgive each other, that they themselves might obtain divine mercy, always proportioned to the degrees of mercy which they had shown upon earth. He entreated the people with tears in his eyes, to have some compassion for the illustrious prisoners, whose birth and merits deserved a fate less rigorous. In a word, although he was grieved at heart to behold his victims snatched from him, and foresaw the consequences of his first proceeding, he endeavoured to make a merit of it in the eyes of the people, by a forced complaisance, to which he judged himself reduced, and in the eyes of the lords by the eloquence he displayed in begging forgiveness for them; it was in fact granted, in the name of the Romans. Turning to the lords, he said, "Resolve, for the future, to offer your lives and fortunes for the good of the people who have so graciously restored you to both."

The noble personages, surprised at the image of death, and a change so unexpected, answered only by a profound inclination, to assure the Romans of their acknowledgment and devotion.

The tribune made no stay; endeavouring to reinstate himself in the favour of his prisoners, he conferred a number of new titles, which were indeed of no cost, upon them; he made every one of them a present of a rich gown, furred and ermined; he invited them to dine with him, and after a magni-

ficent repast, he made a cavalcade with them through the streets of Rome, as a token of pacification. He nevertheless tendered them the oaths, pretended to be voluntary, in favour of the good establishment and the people, which they repeated on the 17th of September, having first received absolution from the priest in the name of the people, and the communion with the tribune.

BOOK VII.

As soon as the persecuted lords found themselves at liberty, terrified rather at the dangers they had gone through, than pleased by the good offices of the tribune, or secured by the compulsive oaths they had taken, they consulted upon retiring from Rome, and seeking vengeance. Some, either through fear or policy, refused to enter into the confederacy, and continued in the city. The chief of those were three of the house of Ursini, Nicholas lord of the castle of St. Angelo, Jordan de Montagne, the son of count Berthold, and with them the chancellor Malebranch. Almost all the others followed the Colonnas, who engaged likewise one branch of the house of Ursini, of which the most considerable were Jordan and Reynold, lords of Marino, the place they chose to retire to with many noblemen and their vassals.

This retreat occasioned great speculation at Rome; the people, apprehensive of the ill consequences

which it threatened, began publicly to blame the tribune, as having acted too much or too little in regard to these noblemen. As for them, they began to palisade and fortify their palaces; and as the castle of Marino was much the most convenient for them to carry on their enterprises, and retire to without hazard, they made it their head-quarters and the asylum of the faction. They worked night and day in repairing it, and filled it with soldiers, arms, and every warlike ammunition in so efficacious a manner, that they found themselves not only free from insults, but capable of sustaining a long siege.

The tribune had the imprudence and indolence to see and suffer these works to be carried on, in spite of the murmurs of the people, and his own power to prevent them. The lords no sooner found themselves in a state fit for action, but they made excursions upon the borders of Rome, plundering the country, taking away man and beast, and making incredible havoc. Rienzi, roused at length by the public clamours, acted agreeable to his natural timidity. He relied more upon the terror of his name than of his arms. He sent a citation to the rebels to appear before him; who, finding themselves in a condition of being feared, abused the officer whom he sent with the citation, and drove him from the palace of Marino with three wounds upon his head. To brave the tribune, they that

day continued their pillages with greater fury than ever.

Rienzi, a greater bully than knight or tribune, took no more cognisance of these outrages than by sending a second citation, wherein he summoned the rebels to surrender themselves at his tribunal on foot and disarmed, upon pain of incurring his displeasure; and with a mistaken show of authority caused the two lords of Marino to be hung up in effigy, with their heads downwards and their heels upwards, as traitors to their country, whom he declared he would make answerable for all the ravages which they and those of their party had committed in the territories of Rome. This bravado, which was a proof of the malice and weakness of the tribune, irritated more highly the offended lords, who soon revenged by cruel reprisals the imaginary infamy he pretended to cast upon them. Jordan, at the head of one party, advanced to one of the gates of Rome, where he made several prisoners, and took a large booty. Reynold carried his resentment much farther. He passed the Tiber, and attacked the town of Nepete or Nepi, which he ransacked with unheard of inhumanity, burning the houses, massacreing the inhabitants, and putting all to fire and sword that fell in his way. He carried his barbarity to such a height as to burn down a castle wherein was a widow of quality, who was consumed in the flames.

The clamours of the people, who were enraged at the authors of these troubles, and the negligence of the tribune, obliged him at length, however unwilling, to put himself in arms. He formed in haste an army of twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse; he encamped afterwards in a valley, where he covered himself by a wood about a mile distant from Marino. It being in the month of November, the great rains at first prevented him from making any motions; but as soon as they ceased he put his troops in motion, who in the space of eight hours made so great devastation in the territory of Marino, that neither house or tree were left standing. He plucked up their vines, and spared not the wood near which he had encamped.

After this expedition, carried on agreeable to the military custom of that age, Rienzi, judging he had no necessity to attack the fort of Marino, fell upon the little town of Casteluzza, a small distance from the castle; he took it at the first onset, demolished the walls, and plundered the town. He had a design to attack the tower to which the garrison retreated, for which purpose he caused great machines carried on wheels to be instantly made, by which he might play upon the besieged on their ramparts; but his preparations were of no effect. The besieged overcame the succours he had that moment received, and freed themselves entirely from their apprehensions.

He committed a mean action, which may serve, however, as a proof of his character. He caused two dogs to be drowned, saying they were Jordan and Reynold Ursini.

In the meanwhile the pope, undeceived in the specious protestation of fidelity which Rienzi pretended in his letters, and better informed of his violent and tyrannic proceedings, ordered cardinal Bertram d'Eux, archbishop of Embrun and provost of Liege, to go from Naples with the character of legate, to inquire into these disorders, and put a stop to them in the best manner that possibly he could. But before we proceed in the narration of an affair, which in the end brought about the downfal of the tribune, it may not be improper to give the original pieces, that contain the chief articles of Clement VI.'s displeasure. We come then to the letter of Rienzi, dated Sept. 17, which was as follows:

"As to the objections made against us at the court of Avignon, they are frivolous. We having taken the military basin of the porphyry urn wherein Constantine bathed himself, answer, that he went into it a Pagan; but we, as a chaste and devout Christian, to receive absolution from the hands of the vicar of our lord the pope; and that the body of Jesus Christ, which we so frequently with devotion receive, is of infinitely more value than an urn of porphyry. We apprehend we have not committed

the most heinous crime in dining with the pope's vicar, upon the same table we used to play dice upon, which was never held in less veneration upon that account. We have been reproached for using a two-edged sword; that imputation is entirely false. We leave that and the other slanders to the vengeance of the Almighty: but the people of Rome will have their vengeance, as they are persuaded all these frivolous aspersions proceed from the hatred borne to their nation, or from the ill-will of those who willingly retard the progress of the good establishment, or endeavour to destroy it, God knows which. It is certain every Roman province is amazed at the trifling stories current at the court of Avignon. In all our actions we have proceeded according to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, the director and disposer of our designs.

"We shall write but little more to our lord the pope, or to the cardinals, for we hope soon to send a solemn embassy in the name of the Romans and that of our own, our intention being to keep deputies at that court, capable of taking care of our interests. The God of truth, who knoweth our hearts, must judge between us and our detractors. We are satisfied we have been reviled contrary to all laws both human and divine; but with the wise man we may say, 'They fools counted his life madness, and his

end to be without honour;' yet we trust in the Lord he will reward it with life eternal.

"We must observe, that our last courier was used exceedingly ill; his box, which he carried by his side, was broke open, and our letters were taken away by force; that his wand was broken over his head, and that he returned to us in that bloody condition. Such an action compels us to proceed by the rules of equity against the magistrates, councils, and commons of Avignon. Willing, however, in one word, to pay the respect due to the holy father, we remain in hopes that his holiness will, by his order, make restitution, and prevent for the future such outrages. Given at the capitol, Sept. 17, in the first year of the deliverance of the republic. Signed the new knight of the Holy Ghost, Nicholas, severe and clement, deliverer of Rome, lover of the whole world, and tribune august."

It is needless to make much reflection upon this letter of Rienzi. His madness in government and his tyrannical proceedings were the properest means the pope could make use of to make the Romans sensible of the extravagance of the tribune. It will therefore be more agreeable to peruse some letters of Clement VI., which have been preserved, wherein will appear the great mischief and singularity of this dangerous conspiracy.

Clement VI. to Peter du Pin, vice-rector of the patrimony in Tuscany.

" Nicholas Rienzi, of Rome, styled the tribune, has thought fit to write to one of our brethren the cardinals, a letter to this purpose,—' that your eminency knoweth that this day, the 1st of September, almost all the inhabitants of the patrimony unjustly aggrieved by the officers of the church (I blush before God to speak it), to free themselves from the yoke of tyrants, and be enabled to live in peace and security, have with tears implored us to take the charge of the government upon us. As our heart is moved with the most lively compassion to behold the public miseries, we have thought it our duty to take that charge upon us, in order to apply the most salutary remedies in our power to their wounds without prejudicing or giving offence to the holy church; for which, and for the justice we from our heart desire, we would most willingly suffer death.' We therefore, taking this attempt of Rienzi into our consideration, command you by this brief to take particular care that no parts of the province committed to your trust be taken by force from it, but that you store with ammunition and defend all the forts. Avignon, September 20th, 1347, the sixth of our pontificate."

The brief came too late; Rienzi was already master of many places, as he boasted in one of his letters

before mentioned. The pope, hearing of his other extravagances, charged cardinal Bertram to restrain him by another brief, of which the following is an extract :—

" See that Nicholas, of whom we have already spoken, put an end to his mischievous proceedings and profane excess, especially his usurpation of the rights and territories of the church, his arrogant impositions upon the people, his attempts upon the whole world, and particularly against our vicar, our dear sons the nobility of Rome, and our dear daughter in Jesus Christ, Jane, queen of Sicily; forget not his designs upon the county of Provence, which he vainly boasted he would reunite to the domains of the people of Rome, nor his treaties with our dear son Lewis, king of Hungary; his citation of the princes of the empire, particularly Lewis of Bavaria, whom God and the church had most justly reproved, and whom Nicholas blushed not with lips unhallowed to summon. Reverse the decrees and laws he has established. For the rest, act agreeable to your own prudence and the nature of his crimes. Pronounce, however, sentence of excommunication against him, and if he continue obstinate, deprive him of the office of governor and all other titles, which we, to calm the people, vouchsafed to confer upon him."

Clement added, that if Rienzi refused to restore to the church what he had by force taken from her,

the legate should publish the apostolical diploma against the usurpers of the domains of the church, and cite Nicholas to the tribunal of the holy see; that he should issue out a process in form against him, and make strict inquiry if, among his other transgressions, he was not either a heretic or favourer of heresies; if it should be found he was, that he should be punished as such. He concluded,

"Nicholas has evaded with pride and contempt the advice given him by our penitentiary Bernardin, and made speeches replete with artifice to endeavour to persuade us that all his proceedings had no other tendency than the glory of the church and the papal dignity. The evil, therefore, must be nipped in the bud, before he can raise fresh forces; and, as we are sensible that the insolence of the usurper cannot be subdued but by force of arms, we have appointed our nephew Guichard de Chamborn, governor of the patrimony of St. Peter. We shall, if necessity requires, engage the forces of those princes who have not offended us. If you think it convenient, you may engage the provinces bordering upon those of the church, upon reasonable conditions, for their alliance with us against this madman. Avignon, October 12, 1347, the sixth of our pontificate."

By these letters it appears to what a height of power Rienzi was arrived, who could by his buffooneries terrify a court the most subtle and politic of that

age, to which he carried himself with so little regard, as scarcely to think it his duty to justify himself, and blended the most submissive terms with menaces at the very time he had usurped its power, and was aspiring to universal sovereignty over all, both temporal and spiritual. Bertram d'Eux was a person the best qualified to suppress him. Clement had nominated him for Italy in 1346, but he did not set out till the close of that year, and came not to Rome till the time we are now speaking of. Rienzi was at the head of his army in the country, when the legate wrote to him from the Vatican, to give notice of his arrival, and entreat him to come and receive the pope's orders. The tribune at first made slight of his mission, and left him to wait in vain some time at Rome; but tired at length with his importunities, and apprehensive besides of his conspiring against him, he left the country, and returned to Rome at the head of his army.

He made his entry in the morning, and signalised his arrival by the destruction of some palaces belonging to the chief of the revolted nobility. He caused his troops to demolish them, and continuing his march to St. Peter's church, he alighted and walked directly to the vestry. There, to imitate the Cæsars, he put on the imperial dalmatic which the emperors used to wear at their coronation, then putting the crown on his head, and taking the sceptre in his

hand, he with sound of trumpet repaired to the pope's palace. He bluntly thus accosted the legate: "You have sent for us, what have you to order us?" The legate, astonished at his dress and compliment, calmly answered that he had orders from the pope to communicate to him. At which word the tribune elevated his voice, and replied in an angry tone, "Ha! what orders are you come to talk to me of?" This insult silenced the legate; they parted without expostulation, highly dissatisfied with each other.

In the meanwhile Rienzi, without appearing chagrined either at the presence of the legate or the revolt of the nobility, continued his hostilities against them, as they on their side did against the territory of Rome. But whether the arrival of the legate animated the rebels, or whether fear or cowardice abated the former ardour of the tribune, he was now no longer the same man. The people, tired of a civil war which detained them, equally with a siege, within their walls, began to discover their discontent, money fell short, the troops were not paid punctually; and, in spite of the veneration hitherto shown to the tribune, all seemed disposed to a general murmur. Some gentlemen, well assured of this disposition of their minds, and animated perhaps by that of the legate, sent information to the old Colonna, and promised to open the gates

of Rome to him, as soon as he should appear with his army before it.

Upon this advice the Colonnas rallied their troops in Palestrina, and formed a body of four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse. It was impossible to carry on this conspiracy so secretly as to escape the ears of the tribune. Instead of preventing his enemies, he endeavoured to fortify himself for fear, as he had at first done for security. When he found the storm upon the point of breaking out, he fell into so strange an abjection of mind as made him quite forget his affairs. He kept himself immured in the capitol, without taking either part. Roused at length from his lethargy by approaching danger, which generally furnished him with means the most singular and fortunate, he showed himself three days to the people. He harangued them with his usual eloquence, endeavouring to persuade the Romans that in a war, which he called sacred, they had nothing to fear from the Colonnas. "For last night," said he, "St. Martin, heretofore the son of a tribune, appeared to me and said, rest assured you will overcome the enemies of God." As he perceived this pretended vision had some effect upon the minds of the people, the day following he ventured upon another with the same impudence; and the better to prepare for it, he caused the capitol bell to be tolled

a long time that night, which had such effect, that in the morning the people appeared before him under arms and ready to march. " The victory is ours," cried he ; " pope Boniface appeared last night to me, and foretold we should sufficiently be revenged of the Colonnas for their cruel persecution of the church of God." This vision was the more artful, as it called to remembrance the quarrel with Boniface VIII., and the attempt of Sciarra, Colonna, and William de Nogaret, upon the person of the pope, whom they used with great indignity. Rienzi told them afterwards, that he was informed by his spies, the enemy were encamped about four miles from Rome, near a place called the Monument. " A dismal omen for them," said he, " as it denotes they will not only be defeated, but buried upon the spot, and that their field of battle must be their grave." This said, he caused the trumpets to sound; he drew up his army in order of battle; he nominated the generals, and chose for his lieutenant-generals Nicholas and Jordan Ursini, surnamed de la Montagne, and then marched through the gate of St. Laurence.

Before we enter into the particulars of this battle, we must observe that the pope's legate, who was retired to Montefiascone, underhand animated the conspiracy against the tribune. As Rienzi was doubtful of the governor of Viterbo, lest he should join the nobles, he determined to secure his person.

To accomplish his design, he sent for him under pretence of assisting him in the war which he was obliged to maintain. The prefect, who had continued faithful, at least in appearance, since he had made peace, instantly obeyed him. He came to Rome with a body of one hundred horse, among whom were fifteen gentlemen of distinction under the title of bannerets. At the same time he brought with him his son, who had never been in arms before. He sent also five hundred loads of corn for the subsistence of the troops, all which seemed to be marks of sincere affection. Whether the tribune was right or wrong in imagining this obedience forced, he cut a stroke of policy which the conspirators represented as the most barbarous treachery. He received the prefect de Vic with great demonstration of joy and acknowledgment; after he had given him an invitation to dinner, he caused him immediately to be seized with his son and the gentlemen of his retinue, and distributed their arms and horses among the Roman soldiers. They were shut up in the prisons of the capitol, where the governor fell sick through grief, which made the tribune set him at liberty a few days afterwards, when he judged he had nothing further to fear from him; he kept, however, his son for an hostage. To put a gloss upon this action before the eyes of the people, Rienzi gave out that the governor, keeping a corre-

spondence with the conspirators, came with no other view than to betray the Romans, by falling upon their army in flank, while they attacked them in front.

In the meanwhile the army of the nobility, who that night had in reality encamped near the place called the Monument, began their march, and advanced as far as the monastery of St. Laurence, which they unmercifully plundered, because the tribune's laurel crown had been blessed in that house. They held a council. The old Colonna, John, his son, Peter Agapit, and Sciarra, both of the house of Colonna, Jordan de Marino, and several other of the first quality, debated among themselves in what manner to act when they should enter the city; whether they should begin with bringing the people over to their party, or storm at once the capitol. They were not insensible how greatly the people were irritated against them upon account of the losses they had sustained by their depredations. Again, it was difficult to surprise and take the capitol without the concurrence and assistance of the people. In short, the cold, the bad weather, and the rains, made several of them wish to put off the attack till another opportunity. Peter Agapit appeared the most irresolute. The ecclesiastic profession he had long been of had not inspired him with a fund of valour. He quitted that calling for a wife after he had possessed the first

dignity in the chapter of Marseilles; and the change of his condition produced no great change in his constitution. He was alarmed at a dream the night before, wherein he said he saw his wife in widow's weeds. This dream so exceedingly affected him, that he declared he would not expose himself that day, which was the 20th of November, 1347. Stephen Colonna, the head of the party, had actually an ague upon him. To put the finishing stroke upon their disconcerted measures, they heard the capitol bell ring, which made them conclude they were discovered, and that the enemy were upon their guard. The old Colonna, however, full of courage, and unwilling to let slip an opportunity so precious, told the lords that they had advanced too far to go back; that he would himself go and reconnoitre; and that if he found any disposition for their reception, they must, without any hesitation, enter the city, and force the people to follow, without giving them time for reflection. Sick as he was, he advanced towards the city, attended only by two servants. When he arrived at the gate he thought most convenient, he called to the guard, and desired him to open it, assuring him that he was a citizen of Rome, returning to his palace in order to support the good establishment, and no enemy, and that he carried the colours of the church and of the people. "Retire immediately," replied the sentinel; "know you not

the hatred of the people against you for disturbing the good establishment? Know you not the meaning of the capitol bell? We are in a condition to receive your army; see the keys, which I throw to you; enter, however, if you durst." He threw the keys, indeed, but into a morass, from whence they could not be recovered.

Colonna, no longer doubting of their being betrayed, and the tribune standing upon his guard, returned highly dissatisfied to his army. He judged it impossible to attempt any enterprise that day, and that he must therefore content himself with making an honourable retreat. Upon this account it was necessary to divide the forces into three bodies, which should file off along the walls with sound of trumpet, and after having passed in good order before the gate through which they intended to enter, turned to the right, and retired without drawing their swords.

BOOK VIII.

ALREADY the first and second bodies, horse and foot, had filed off without any molestation, under the command of Petruccio Frangipani. The third was composed of the best horse, and the flower of the nobility. The young Colonna, who was among them, had marched first, with seven or eight young noblemen, and left the body a small distance behind him. Day began to break, when the Romans, roused by the noise of trumpets, endeavoured to open the gate, that they might skirmish with the enemy's rear guard. The key being lost, they broke open the lock, but, either through negligence or precipitation, opened one door only, the other remaining close shut. John Colonna, finding them in this condition when he approached, and hearing a bustle among the people, as if under alarm, imagined that the door had been forced by those he had sent for intelligence. Upon which, transported with an inconsiderate ardour, he couched his lance, and, clapping spurs to

his horse, rode full speed into the city without any attendant.

If we may judge of an event which produced at once an irruption so sudden, he had certainly made himself master of Rome if he had had only one hundred horse with him; for, as soon as he appeared, the city cavalry, the first he fell upon, were so terribly alarmed, that they separated, and flew in as much confusion as if the enemy's whole army had been at their heels. Nor were the infantry and the people less affrighted, to behold the disorder of the troops he was driving before him. But at length the Romans recovered themselves, and, perceiving only one man instead of a whole army, which they imagined followed him, turned about and faced him. Colonna, who depended upon his friends both within and without, was greatly surprised to find himself encompassed on every side. He would gladly have reached the gate again, but he was carried by his horse upon the ruins of a house, which he found a little distance on the left from the gate within the city. The horse, who pursued him, overtook him; they dismounted and disarmed him, and, without any regard to his birth, his youth, and the affecting manner of his begging mercy, made three thrusts at him, which put an end to the life of this gallant young nobleman. He was scarce twenty years of age, and had already given proofs of valour which

seemed to foretell the most heroic actions and a happier fate. The moment he expired, the sky, which had been vastly clouded, cleared up, and the sun again appeared upon the city, after an absence of many days: an incident that Rienzi was sure to turn to advantage, by attracting the admiration of a credulous and superstitious people.

In the mean time the old Colonna, who headed the rear guard, arrived at the city gate, where he saw a concourse of people. As if he had a surmise of his misfortune, he cried out, "Where is my son? what is become of my son?" "We know not," answered they, "where he is, what he has done, nor what is become of him." This answer added to his alarms; he rode up directly under the gate, from whence he saw his son stretched on the ground amidst the assassins. At this dismal sight fear seized upon him, he turned his horse, and left the city. But the tenderness of a father soon recalled his spirits; he returned to redeem his son at any rate, imagining he should get there time enough. He rode but a few paces back again before he beheld his son was slain. Overwhelmed with grief, he was considering how to save himself, when unfortunately a large engine belonging to the gate fell upon his shoulders and his horse's back. In an instant the soldiers of the city ran to surround him. His horse, pricked with a lance, started and kicked with such

violence, that he threw his lord, already bruised by the blow he had just received from the engine. Those mad wretches instantly threw themselves upon the venerable old nobleman, and ran him through with their lances with the utmost barbarity. The people, animated at this time by the death of the two most considerable of the contrary party, went out in crowds, without any regard to order, to fall upon the troops who were filing off. Peter Agapit was their first victim; he had unfortunately fallen from his horse, and was endeavouring to save himself in the fields, but the rains had made the ground too slippery, and the weight of his arms, to which he was not inured, occasioned him soon to be found among the vines, wherein he strove to conceal himself. The tears with which he begged his life, unworthy a man of his birth, had no effect. They disarmed him, and, after they had taken all his money, cruelly massacred him. Pandolph, lord of Belvidere, and ten other noblemen of the first rank, shared the same fate. The rest of the party were struck with terror; every one strove to facilitate his own escape, throwing down his arms for the greater expedition. Jordan de Marino fled in such consternation, that he never stopped till he reached his castle Marino. In a word, the defeat was so general, and indeed singular, that not one of the revolters durst defend himself, and the people lost not one

man, after they had slain all those who could not avoid their first fury.

The tribune, amidst his troops, knew so little of what had passed, that seeing at a distance one of his standards fall, he looked upon all as lost, and casting up his eyes to heaven, full of despair, cried out, "Oh God! will you then forsake me?" But no sooner was he informed of the entire defeat of his enemies, than his dread and cowardice even turned to boldness and arrogance. He made his trumpets proclaim aloud his victory. Taking in hand the tribune sceptre, and putting on his head the rich silver crown with another of olive, he entered Rome triumphant. He went directly to the church of St. Mary d'Ara Celi, followed by the people, to return thanks to heaven for a victory obtained, as he persuaded them, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, according to his prediction. Upon this occasion he made great show of piety, sufficient to impose upon a giddy train, who had long since believed him a prophet. The crown of olive with his sceptre he laid at the feet of the image of the blessed Virgin; that of silver he deposited in the Cordeliers' church, and never more made use of either of those ornaments. Afterwards he went to the place where he usually harangued the people; he congratulated them upon the success of their arms, and told them that his design was to sheath for ever his sword;

Yet drawing it at the very moment he said so, he cut off a lappet of his gown, as if he would have it thought he would no more embrue it in blood; and said in allusion to the deaths of the Colonnas: "I have this day cut off an ear from that head which neither pope nor emperor had ever power to effect."

At night the relations and friends of the slain came to bury their bodies. It was a dismal sight to behold the unfortunate noblemen fallen victims to an enraged people. Their faces were disfigured in such a manner, that it was difficult to know them. The whole number of the slain was reckoned about three hundred, among whom were six of the house of Colonna, and many others of the greatest distinction of Rome and the provinces adjacent. The corpse of the old Colonna was so inhumanly mangled, and his face so much wounded, that it was some hours before he was known. They carried his body and those of the Colonnas to the nunnery church of St. Mary, where the family had a vault. Several ladies, their relations, came to attend their obsequies; but the tribune, regardless of all their tears and entreaties, ordered his guards to drive them out of the church, declaring that they were rebels and traitors, and unworthy of the honours of burial; and that he would, if the ladies made the least disturbance, send them instantly to the place wherein they throw the common malefactors. He ordered them afterwards

to be privately carried to the church of St. Silvester, where the monks buried them without noise or ceremony.

If the tribune had pushed his conquest, and attacked Fort Marino, without giving his enemies time to recover themselves, he had certainly, in the consternation they were then in, put it out of their power to have afterwards given him any uneasiness. But he was neither warlike nor brave; he imagined he had obtained advantage enough in escaping the danger, and that he was infinitely more safe amidst the people under his authority, than at the head of an army against a weaker enemy who had opposed him. Instead of securing himself by so powerful a victory, he thought of nothing but triumphal processions at home, and spreading the news of his conquest abroad, particularly at Florence, Sienna, and Perusa, the cities whose alliance he had most at heart. One of the letters he wrote on this subject was addressed to Reynold Ursini, the pope's notary and archdeacon of Liege, of which the annexed is an extract.

"This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad therein. It is, indeed, a day of joy to the people, and to all the just; it is a day of affliction, of grief, of despair to the tyrants against whom we have directed all our thunder in defence of the liberties of Rome. You have, doubtless, heard

the fame of what passed at Rome after the arrival of the legate; in what manner peace was established, justice revered, liberty triumphed, the roads secured, and tyranny abased. In what manner the pacific state granted us at first by the Almighty, was disturbed by Reynold and Jordan Ursini, of infamous memory, formerly knights, but since traitors to the body of Jesus Christ, to us the tribune, and the Romans. In what manner Stephen and John Colonna, equally perjured, became the promoters and abettors of treason, the consequences of which were plunders and burning of castles, monasteries, hospitals, and consecrated places, without the least cause given on our side, unless by partaking with them of the body of Jesus Christ for our mutual security, the only pledge we could obtain from them. In what manner, after having given or taken reciprocal oaths, we conferred upon them the greatest places of honour and trust; taking them into council, and creating in particular, John, general of our army, beside other promises which should as effectually have been fulfilled as they were sincerely made.

" The perjured wretches in the meanwhile forgot our favour, and not content with raising disturbances without, by degrees ventured to attack us within, without considering that God had restored Rome to her pristine glory. They conspired with the prefect John de Vic, who, under pretence of bringing us

succours, was come to betray the Romans. But the plot was happily discovered, and the conspirators delivered into our hands; if there was no necessity of staining them with their blood, it behoved us to curb the insolence of the rebels, who would have entered the city by force, and tyrannised over the lovers of peace, under the pretence of its being better for them to be exposed to death itself, rather than submit to the exercise of our office longer than six months. It is true, six months were elapsed since Whitsunday, which was the day of our elevation, as this is of our victory.... The defeat and deaths of these traitors will in the end demonstrate that their conduct and lives were incompatible with our government. Not content with plundering and setting fire to the church and convent of St. Mary de Ferrara, on turning towards the city they fell upon the convent of St. Laurence, where the remains of that Saint are deposited with those of St. Stephen. The Almighty, however, took compassion upon our innocence and the people, and upon the purity of our intentions in fighting for liberty and justice; he taught our hands to fight, and enabled us to subdue the proud. It is to the assistance of those saints and martyrs, Stephen and Laurence, we owe our victory. In their church our laurel crown was consecrated. Stephen Colonna, John his son, and that apostate, Peter Agapit, once provost of Marseilles, and since

one of the chiefs of the conspiracy, could not withstand our victorious arms. It was indeed no more than just that those who had partaken of our clemency, should share the fate they had deserved. They were other Holoferneses cut off by another Judith. It is remarkable, that within the space of eight days all our enemies were either slain, taken prisoners, or shamefully put to flight.

" This great success must, of consequence, add to the progress of the good establishment, as well as to our power, since the Romans appear now more than ever enamoured with liberty. We must not forget to tell you, that two days before this event, there appeared to us a vision, which afforded us much consolation; we saw pope Boniface, of blessed memory, who animated us by saying that in a very short time we should triumph over the tyrants. This we reported in full senate to the Romans; afterwards we went to the altar of Boniface in the great church of St. Peter, where we devoutly made an offering of a veil and chalice. In a word, by the grace of God, the vision was verified, and victory obtained by the assistance of the blessed Martin, son of a tribune. As it was on his festival the traitors plundered the foreigners coming to Rome for indulgence, the Saint took revenge of them by the hands of a tribune three days afterwards; that is to say, on the day of St. Columbin, who happily gives glory to the dove in

our standard. Given at our capitol on the day of our victory, the 20th of November."

But this victory, it seems, which ought to have rendered his government more firm and steady, proved the most immediate cause of his ruin, by the pride and insolence with which it inspired him. The next day he performed an exploit which turned out of great prejudice to him, and alienated the hearts of his best troops. Having ordered all his volunteers, whom he was pleased to honour with the name of sacred militia, to mount, "Follow me," said he, "I will doubly procure peace for you." Upon which he caused the trumpets to sound, and having on his left hand his son Laurence, he marched without discovering his design to the place where the old Colonna was killed. There was a lake of muddy water, wherein the body of that lord was some time soaked, and which was coloured with his blood. Dismounting with his son, he took some of the bloody water and sprinkled it upon him, saying, "Son, henceforth shalt thou be knight of victory." He afterwards made every captain strike him across his reins with the flat side of his sword. This done, he returned to the capitol, where he disbanded his cavalry in these terms:— "Romans, retire, what I do for you is common with me; but then it is no less your duty than mine to fight for our country." This discourse, and the barbarous and burlesque ceremony, which the cavalry

had been eye-witness of, shocked them to such a degree, that they never afterwards would take up arms for him.

Having lost the affection of the major part of his best troops, he did all he could to lose that of the people. Persuading himself the victory had laid the nobility so low as never again to recover themselves, he set no bounds to his actions. He carried himself with an insupportable arrogance, and abandoned himself to all manner of injustice and tyranny; he raised new taxes; he extorted riches from those he had taken from their houses upon sham plots; he seised upon abbeys and monasteries; his dress and table were carried to an excess of luxury. The young Romans, who used to make their court to him, appeared seldom at the capitol. All blamed his conduct, and Rome, which the other day esteemed him as their deliverer, now looked upon him as a tyrant. He convoked not the people so frequently to grant audience or to hold council. He shut himself up in his palace, and his presence was known only by the rigorous punishments, which he caused his agents to inflict upon the innocent. The Cardinal Legate, who had continued at Montefiascone omitted no opportunity of raising him enemies, and withdrawing the people's affection. Having cited him three times to no purpose, he pronounced excommunication against him as a man remarkable

for heresy. Clement VI. addressed the Romans in a brief dated the 3rd of December, exhorting them to shake off all obedience to the tribune. He reminded them in the mildest terms of the insolence and inconsistency of the election made above six months past in favour of Nicholas Rienzi and Raymond his holiness's vicar; he told them, that they manifestly infringed upon his prerogative at that juncture, who was the natural sovereign of Rome. That he had given proofs of his indulgence in concealing his displeasure, and ratifying the election, in hopes it would tend to the good of the people and the support of the rights of the church. He continued with expressions full of energy, that Rienzi, who was their idol, had deceived him in his expectations of him at Rome and Avignon: that he had carried his ingratitude and treachery to both those cities to the highest pitch. That he began by excluding from the government his co-partner the bishop of Orvieto, who opposed his usurpation: that the said bishop was obliged to depart Rome to avoid being a spectator of his enormities, his rapine upon the territories of the church, and the abominable imposts which he laid upon the people, without any dread of the anathema usually pronounced against such tyrants. The holy Father then laid before their eyes the heinous crimes of Rienzi in removing Constantine's Urn, and imitating

the ceremonies of the pagans at his coronation, and other triumphs, wherein he affected to resemble the Cæsars. Such are the works, such the grand exploits (continued he) of Nicholas: such are the advantages, such the honours, and such the prerogatives he boasts by his labours to have procured for you. He concluded, that he had given the greatest demonstration of his paternal patience in regard to Rienzi, whom by the most salutary means and advice he had endeavoured to reclaim, and that he had sent cardinal Bertram to Rome on purpose: but that Rienza held all in disdain, and became the more arrogant, as he was insensible that the arms of the Lord, which overthrew Lucifer, Balthazar, and others, whom pride and ambition had blinded, were able to smite him, curb his blasphemies, and set bounds to his iniquities. His holiness conjured the Romans, mingling sometimes menaces with his entreaties, to consider seriously on what he had written to them, to persevere in their obedience to the church, and consequently to break off all communication with that dangerous serpent, who spread his venom over all.

So many heavy articles drawn up against the power of the tribune were surely capable of shaking it. But he was so much master of the people, that he would doubtless have withstood all these efforts, if he had not become the greatest enemy to himself by the irregularity of his conduct. Whilst the

Romans found themselves exposed within to his tyranny, they were without in no less danger from the nobles, who had renewed their excursions, and were ravaging the country with greater fury than ever. Jordan de Marino, who had taken the first alarm, and was informed of the people's discontent, imagined he should be able by harassing with hostilities, to destroy the phantom of power which the tribune had raised. He gathered together at his Fort of Marino the remainder of the army of the Colonnas, of which the number of the defeated far exceeded that of the slain. The parties he continually sent out about the country kept all in such alarm, that the merchants no longer ventured to Rome, which was in a manner blocked up. The interruption of commerce occasioned a great scarcity, and corn especially bore an excessive price. This state of want, compared with the abundance which the Romans enjoyed from the elevation of the tribune to this unfortunate war, obliged them to make many grievous reflections, and abated their respect for Rienzi, more than the pope's manifesto or the anathemas of his legate. As to the last, he contented not himself in fulminating his excommunications. As soon as he perceived affairs come to the crisis he desired, he had an interview with Luke Savolli and Sciarra Colonna, in order to harass more and more the Romans; in which he so effectually

succeeded that all the avenues to Rome were entirely shut up. At length, to give the tribune no time to extricate himself from his apprehensions, they engaged a lord of the kingdom of Naples, a man of great bravery and intrepidity, to enter into their measures, and form a conspiracy against him.

This lord, named John Pepin, palatine of Altamura and count de Morivino, was of a factious and turbulent temper, which had plunged him into troubles, and which in the end brought him to an ignominious death. Robert king of Naples had sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. After the death of that prince he was set at liberty by king Andrew. The tragical end of this last prince having caused a revolution in the kingdom, he was afraid of falling into the hands of bloody-minded princes, who were possessed of absolute authority, and had no regard for him. He departed the realm, and flew for refuge to Rome with his family. As the tribune had summoned him to his tribunal, and condemned him to banishment for non-appearance, he looked upon himself as personally interested to take vengeance, and the countenance of the legate and the nobles furnished him with the means. He embraced this opportunity with so much the more advantage for himself, as well as for those engaged with him, as he was the only man, who by a conformity of character with Rienzi, was able to under-

take his overthrow and succeed therein. He desired but one hundred and fifty men to execute his design, in imitation of Rienzi, who had no more at the time he was proclaimed governor. The legate granted them. This was a desperate attempt in cardinal Bertram, as he had little room to expect success against a man, who had hitherto always succeeded; whose name alone had terrified the most regular troops, and given uneasiness to the great provinces he purposed to invade. But he was willing to set temerity against temerity, and try if fortune could not destroy by the same measures she had raised. Whether Pepin was already in Rome (as Fortiocca insinuates) or whether he found means to enter the city (according to Villani) in the night on the 14th or 15th of December, is uncertain; he took possession, however, of the fish-market, where he intrenched without molestation, and erected batteries to secure himself from any attack on that side. He then caused the alarm bell of the next church to be rung all that night and the day following.

The tribune, more terrified at this conspiracy than he had reason to be, gave the conspirators time to strengthen and increase themselves by the repeated exclamations of, "Let the Colonnas live, and let the tribune die." He determined at length to send a company of horse under the command of a captain, whom he knew entirely devoted to him. This

general, named Scarpetta, no sooner advanced to the batteries than he was slain by a lance, which disconcerted the whole troop. Rienzi ordered the capitol bell to be rang, and perceiving that the people did not assemble according to order, went out dejected, not knowing what course to steer. Fear had so dismayed him, he could scarcely speak. Far from considering of giving commands to his forces, whom the least show of courage might have rendered victorious, he gave way to such a lamentable abjection of mind, that he imagined a general insurrection in the city; although he beheld the people quiet, who contented themselves with a neutrality, neither acting against or standing up in defence of him. Believing himself lost beyond redemption, he turned towards the people, who began to assemble under the tribunal, and told them, interrupting his discourse with tears and sighs, that, "his government had been attended with prosperity and advantage to the public; that he had therefore nothing to reproach himself with upon that account; but that the jealousy and malice of those, to whom the good establishment was not acceptable, compelled him to resign his trust. I retire, therefore, (added he) and quit the reins of government, seven months after I have received them from your hands." When he had finished, he mounted on horseback, and followed by some he could confide in, strove to make a trium-

phant retreat. He marched with trumpets sounding and colours displayed to the castle of St. Angelo, where he fortified himself some time, till he could find an opportunity to make an escape. An affection for Rienzi was still so grounded in the minds of the people, that notwithstanding all their cause for discontent, they could not behold him discharging his trust and retiring without compassion. Many who had testified their dislike and coldness, at this juncture could not refrain from tears at his misfortunes.

The rumour of his retreat soon spread itself over the whole city. Count d'Altamura no sooner heard of it, than he came out of his trenches, and went directly to the capitol, which he found abandoned. The attendants and domestics of the tribune were all gone; his wife retired in the habit of a nun. They plundered the superb furniture of his palace, and seized upon the immense riches he had amassed. They found a surprising quantity of letters in his cabinet, some of his own writing, and others which he had received from foreign princes. They hanged him in effigy over against the walls of his palace, and treated him in the very same manner he had Jordan de Marino, setting his head to the ground, and his heels upward. Cecco Mancini was distinguished by the same marks of infamy. He was chief confidant, secretary, and nephew of the tribune,

and was honoured with the title of count ; upon the first news of his uncle's fall he abandoned the fortress of Civita-Vecchia, of which he was governor.

Rienzi had so terrified the grandees who were retired to their castles, that they could scarcely recover themselves on the information of his retreat, and were no less than three days before they returned to Rome. They well knew the great ascendancy he had over the people, who, notwithstanding his tyranny, loved him, and they were apprehensive of his being re-established in his authority. But the legate, who was waiting for the success of count d'Altamura at Montifiascone, hastened to Rome, and having first issued out a fresh process against him, declared him divested of his dignity, suspected of heresy, and excommunicated. It is remarkable he was all this while in the castle of St. Angelo, where he remained above a month without molestation, which may be attributed either to an apprehension of the people rising to his assistance, or to a desire of giving him an opportunity to make his escape.

The new legislators began with restoring the ancient form of government by the creation of senators. They created three, of whom the legate was chief; and of the other two, one was of the house of Colonna, and the other of that of Ursini. This settlement was a proof of the ability of the legate, who after the confusions in Rome during the last revolu-

tion and some time before, thought he could by no means better secure the public tranquillity than by dividing the honour of government between the Colonnas and Ursinis, sitting himself as president to prevent dissensions, and maintain a good intelligence between the pope and them.

Rienzi in his retreat began to raise his spirits, and despaired not of his restoration. He depended upon the protection and succours of his ally, the king of Hungary. That prince at the head of a numerous army was upon the point of invading the kingdom of Naples; but as Rienzi might chance to fall into the hands of queen Jane, whom he had ordered to be seized if she appeared in his territories, he judged it too hazardous to go in quest of that monarch. Happily for him the revolution he waited for soon took place. Most of the grandees of the kingdom declared themselves for Lewis, and went to pay him homage. The cities and towns sent their deputies to acknowledge him. Queen Jane, who in a moment found herself forsaken by all her subjects, had no other resource left but to fly to Provence with three galleys, which she always kept in readiness for any event in the port of Naples. She embarked in the night on the 15th of January; Lewis, prince of Taranto, her consort, followed two days after, accompanied by Nicolas Acciaivoli, the only lord who preserved his loyalty. In this manner, Lewis, king of Hungary,

made himself master of the kingdom of Naples without losing a drop of blood on either side.

This interesting news for Rienzi soon reached Rome, whence he resolved secretly to withdraw himself. Before his departure he left a token of his hopes of being restored to his dignity. After he had retired to the castle St. Angelo, he caused to be painted upon the wall of St. Mary Magdalen's church in the castle, an angel with the arms of Rome, holding in her hand a cross with a dove, and trampling under foot an adder, a basilisk, a lion, and a dragon; intimating by this symbol, that he should one day be restored to his dignity, that at that time he should humble the grandees who had routed him, and crush them in pieces, according to the words of the ninety-first Psalm, ver. 13. "Thou shalt go upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet." The populace in derision covered this enigmatical painting with dirt. Rienzi the night before his departure had the curiosity to view this hieroglyphic, which he esteemed a pledge of his return. He came to the place in the habit of a monk, and grieved to see the image disfigured in so outrageous a manner, ordered his friends to keep a lamp burning before it for the space of one year. That night he departed Rome, and set out for Naples, where he arrived at the latter end of January.

BOOK IX.

THE disgrace of Rienzi sensibly affected the king of Hungary, as he looked upon him as a man firmly attached to his interests and able to second the enterprise he had meditated upon Sicily, and for which the tribune had promised him succours. He received him with great marks of distinction and affection, and granted him an asylum at his court. It is said they made at this time a secret treaty, which gave the pope much uneasiness. Among the orders which his holiness sent to cardinal Bertram d'Eux, his legate at Rome, he earnestly and expressly charged him to remonstrate to king Lewis, "that if he was willing to show himself a true son of the church, he must not in any manner succour, relieve or protect that perverse man," as he called Nicholas Rienzi, "who was excommunicated and strongly suspected of heresy; nor any of his partisans and adherents: that it was his duty to cause him to be seized upon and sent under a strong guard, either to

the legate or to Avignon, that he might receive a punishment due to his crimes. The pope concluded with conjuring Lewis to reflect what a blemish it would cast upon his reputation to favour and countenance a man," as it is reported, "suspected of heresy, and how displeasing it must be to the Almighty God, to enter into his sentiments and interests." This letter was dated May 7, 1348.

Whether the earnest solicitations of Clement VI. to disengage him from Rienzi, made an impression upon the mind of king Lewis, who at that juncture found himself unable to resist the holy see, or whether he judged he had no further concern with a man for whose restoration he must at the very beginning be obliged to hire forces, it is certain that that monarch left abruptly the kingdom of Naples.

The sudden departure of the king of Hungary amazed equally the whole world. Without revealing his design either to the grandees, or to the officers of his army, after he had secured all the castles and strong places, where he had put in good garrisons, he embarked on board a galley for Hungary, after an absence of about three months from it. Various were the opinions of this mysterious departure: but in the dreadful sickness, which began to depopulate Italy, and especially the kingdom of Naples, he could not remain without danger of losing his life; and as he found himself under a necessity of withdrawing,

he judged it most proper to be done secretly and suddenly.

The contagious distemper, which forced the King of Hungary to quit Naples, was reported by historians to exceed the plague of Egypt in the time of Pharaoh, and that which caused so great desolation in Italy during the pontificate of St. Gregory. Yet Providence, who reserved Rienzi for a scourge to chastise the Romans, permitted him to escape the contagion; the interruption of trade and commerce helped him to conceal and shelter himself from the strict search the pope made after him. Cleared from these dangers, he pursued his former design of re-establishing himself at Rome at all events, and for that end contrived a scheme which alarmed Clement VI.

Among the number of troops which the King of Hungary sent into Naples, he had a body of Germans, consisting of twelve hundred horse, commanded by a lord of that empire called Werner. This cavalry was one of the principal corps of the King of Hungary. After they had done wonders in Sicily, which gave the pope cause to complain, the king made use of them upon divers occasions. But Werner by reason of his haughtiness was discontented; he turned against him, and quitting his service, determined to make a campaign in Rome. This man Rienzi fixed upon as a proper instrument to

restore him. He made proposals to him, which perplexed the court of Avignon to such a degree, that the pope gave the most pressing orders, first to cardinal Bertram to prevent the consequences of so dangerous a confederacy, by drawing from Rienzi's interest Perusa, Florence, and Sienna; afterwards to Hannibal Ceccano, successor to Bertram in the legateship, to put a stop to the springs which that active spirit had set in motion in Italy and Rome to facilitate his return.

The apprehensions of the pope were so much the better founded, as he was not insensible of the dispositions of the people towards their old tribune. He well knew that the want of steadiness in the new administration had caused disturbances which made them lament the loss of him; that instead of that security which he had established upon the public roads, the travellers were exposed to continual robberies: and that they (the people), if Rienzi had courage equal to his sedition, and was furnished with succours, would again receive him at Rome as their deliverer. In regard to these dispositions, and the just complaints of the dangers on the roads, the holy father charged his first legate to use all possible means to put a stop to those robberies, which would lessen the affection of the people for their tribune. His second legate he expressly commanded to renew all the proceedings of his predecessor against Rienzi.

In the brief dated November 21, 1348, he set forth the negociations and secret practices of Rienzi, who by his flight to those who had power to support him, rendered himself still more formidable. "This wretch," said his holiness, "persists in his obstinacy, and meditates new plots, infinitely more dangerous than his former, in order to overthrow, if he had the power, both church and city. He yet retains by clandestine means a number of partisans; he amuses them by artifices, and makes promises to them which he can never accomplish. He has already engaged some of the highest rank (meaning the king of Hungary and Werner) to forsake the church and public welfare, and follow him in his attempts upon the holy see." To obstruct their designs the legate published fresh anathemas against Rienzi, and declared all princes, who favoured, granted asylum, or knew the place of his retreat, excommunicated.

These precautions of the court of Avignon and the legates against a fugitive without arms or aid, demonstrate that he had still at Rome and the countries allied a great party. Nevertheless, his formidable party, his league with Werner, and the protection of the king of Hungary, were all of no effect. He found himself obliged to lay concealed in the hermitage of Mont-Mayelle, disguised in the habit of a penitent, where he remained with the hermits the whole succeeding year, 1349, waiting for the

opportunity of the grand jubilee, which was approaching, and which would afford him opportunity to creep incognito again into Rome.

This indulgence was fixed by Clement VI. for the year 1350. It was so particularly limited to the city of Rome, that Hugh, king of Cyprus, who had sent an ambassador on purpose to beg leave to partake of it without leaving his dominions, was denied his request, as well as several other sovereign princes. The concourse from all parts of Europe was so prodigious, that between Christmas day (the day of its opening) and the Easter following, there were reckoned little less than 1,200,000 foreigners at Rome. The places of those who returned home were supplied by new comers. Between Ascension and Whitsunday were counted about 800,000 more; and notwithstanding the heat of the summer considerably lessened the number, there was scarce a day during the season but 200,000 foreigners were seen at Rome.

By the favour of such a multitude Rienzi ventured to enter once more without being known. He huddled himself amidst the crowd, and found the situation of affairs favourable to his designs, by reason of the general discontent of the people in regard to the legate. It was ordained in the bull that to gain indulgence the churches specified therein should be visited for a certain number of days; the Romans

thirty, the Italians fifteen, and ten all other foreigners. The pope granted full powers to the legate, cardinal de Ceccano, and to his vicar resident at Rome, to dispense with this limitation upon account of the prodigious concourse from all parts, according as they should judge proper. In spite of their orders and precautions they met with great difficulties, occasioned by the merchants without, who brought not the corn, wine, and other provisions, as they should have done, setting a price according to their own wills upon the commodities they vended to foreigners. Cardinal Ceccano thought to remedy this evil by a number of dispensations which produced great discontent.

The legate, in the stables of his palace, had a camel, which attracted the curiosity of the populace. One day, some of the meaner sort of people teasing this beast, the groom picked a quarrel with them. Words instantly came to blows. The domestics of the legate drove out the mob, but their number soon increasing, and holding together, they returned to the palace, broke down the gates, and threw stones from every corner of the windows, crying out, "A heretic, a heretic!" They were furnished in a short time with all sorts of arms, so that the palace was in a manner besieged. Ceccano showed himself in a balcony, but his presence had no effect, until John de Lucca came with a troop of horse, and suppressed

the rioters. As trifling as this tumult appeared, Rienzi was suspected to be the author of it, or at least, a great abettor. It is said by some, he formed a design of assassinating the legate in the streets of of Rome, not doubting but the confusion and disorder which an attempt of that nature would necessarily produce, would furnish him with the means of putting himself at the head of the people, who were yet attached to him, and by forcing the capitol, reinstate himself in the government.

A few days after the attack of the legate's palace, that cardinal, to gain indulgence on his own part, resolved to visit the churches. He generally marched with a grand equipage, and in pomp, agreeable to his rank. One day, after saying mass pontifically in St. Peter's church, he mounted on horseback, accompanied by a numerous retinue, and went to St. Paul's, the trumpets sounding all the time he marched. After saying his prayers in that church, he proceeded to that of the Holy Ghost; but just as he was between the two churches in the middle of the street, two arrows were shot at him from a window, one of which passed without touching him, and the other pitched upon his hat without wounding his head. It is difficult to determine which had the greater predominancy over the prelate, his fear or his indignation. He rode up in an instant to the house from whence the arrows were shot, but no

soul could be found in it: The villains escaped through a back door, and mixed themselves amongst the crowd, leaving their bow behind them, which was the only thing that could be discovered, notwithstanding the most strict searches which were made during the remainder of that year.

The cardinal, apprehensive of other assassins, thought fit to leave off his visitations, and return to his palace. A priest was taken up upon suspicion, and examined, but no proof could be produced against him. The house, whence the arrows were shot, was demolished for want of the assassins. After the most diligent inquiries to no purpose Rienzi was suspected; suspicion seemed to amount to evidence; such was the force of prejudice, the legate, no longer doubting him to be the author of this base attempt, poured out his indignation against him. After writing, and sending the head of the arrow to the pope, he excommunicated Rienzi again, and all his accomplices. He stiled him an infamous and odious heretic; he disannulled all the ordinances which the tribune had made during his government, and declared him deprived, and incapable of office and dignity.

Rienzi, guilty or innocent, found there was no longer any safety for him at Rome. Although he had the satisfaction of seeing the people, whom he knew were better affected to him than ever, yet the

vigilance of the legate and the administration, the great concourse of foreigners, more inclinable to good order and tranquillity, than to sedition and conspiracies, and the cxpress and pathetic remonstrances of the pope against him, rendered him destitute of the least hopes of success. He took the opportunity of saving himself in one of the foreign caravans, which was returning home.

Disappointed, and not knowing where to find new resources to carry on his designs, he took a most bold resolution, conformable to that rashness which had so often assisted him in his former exploits. He determined to go to Prague, to Charles king of the Romans, whom the year before he had summoned to his tribunal, persuaded that that prince, touched with the openness with which he would throw himself into his arms, would grant him protection, and encourage his return. He took the route of Bohemia, disguised in the habit of a Cordelier, and thereby freed the legate and administration from the most dangerous enemy they had at Rome; yet he freed them not from their apprehensions. The legate well knew of his return to Rome, but he had no certainty of his departure. He dreaded continually some new enterprises: the care he took of his person manifested his alarms. When he appeared in public, he constantly wore an iron skullcap under his hat, and a coat of mail under his

cassock. He feared the people almost as much as Rienzi; in his heart he retained a warm resentment against the Romans, who in return entertained no favourable dispositions towards him, and upon every oocasion frankly spoke their sentiments. "They had," says Fortiocca, "four great objections against him; he was no citizen of Rome; he was squint-eyed; he loved pomp and pageantry; and was, what," adds that author, "is better omitted than related." To remove him from the disagreeable situation he found himself in at Romé, the pope, upon the refusal of cardinal Guy de Boulogne, who begged to be excused, gave him the legateship of Naples, to treat with the king of Hungary, whose return to that kingdom had rekindled the war with greater fury than ever. Hannibal de Ceccano left Rome accordingly; but scarcely had he passed the Seignory of Ceccano, Monte Cassino, and St. Germain, but he alighted at a castle, where they brought him a repast, in which was wine, by the consequences suspected to be poisoned on purpose to destroy the prelate; be it as it may, he actually died the next day, July 17th, 1350, in a town called St. George. Fortiocca attributes his death to an indigestion, occasioned by the quantity of wine he drank, with milk after it, and eating cucumbers to excess. This seems the less probable, as every one of his retinue, among whom was a nephew, who drank off

this wine, died, some on the road, some at Rome, and others at Viterbo. His baggage was plundered by the heads of the country, who were up in arms, and his body, after embalming, was carried in a coffin to Rome, in the habit of St. Francis, and interred at St. Peter's, in the family vault, but without any funeral pomp or solemnity.

About the same time Rienzi arrived at Prague, where the king of the Romans then was. He presented himself to that monarch with great confidence, and throwing himself at his feet, with his accustomed eloquence he told him, "That he was Nicholas Rienzi, whom God had vouchsafed to be the deliverer of Rome, and governor thereof, according to the laws of justice; that he had seen under his obedience Tuscany, the Roman provinces and sea-ports; that he had humbled the grandees, and reformed an infinity of disorders; that every wretch the earth contained knew the success of the iron rod, which the Lord had armed him with for the cause of justice; but that the same God who elevated and supported him during the rigour of his government, had at length chastised him for his easiness and moderation, by the injustice of the grandees, who had prevailed over him, and compelled him to depart Rome, that in his exile he thought it behoved him to seek no other asylum than from a puissant emperor, to whom he had the honour to be related, being the issue of

one of the natural sons of the emperor Henry; that a prince destined by Heaven to destroy tyrants and tyranny, must have too much generosity to abandon a man, whom it had pleased the Almighty to make an instrument in suppressing them." After this harangue, he told the king a prophecy given to him by a holy hermit of Mont-Mayelle during his retirement, and which was in substance, that the eagle should be sent to destroy the Corneilles.

Charles was astonished at the boldness and insolence of a man who had assurance to pretend a consanguinity; but offended less at such rhodomontade, than touched with the frankness with which a personage so celebrated, who had made even himself tremble, came to seek refuge, received him with all the honour and affection he judged due to merit in distress; nevertheless, this generosity of Charles was not so sincere and disinterested to secure Rienzi from being hereafter made a dupe. When he resolved to go to Prague, he foresaw that the new emperor, who owed his elevation to the pope, would make no scruple of making his court to him by securing the person of a man, after whom the holy father had made the most diligent search throughout Italy. He foresaw likewise, that he should be delivered up to the pope. But unable to find out any expedient so proper to compass his design of remounting the throne he was fallen from, he relied

upon his eloquence and artifice to engage his enemies, and even the court of Avignon itself. A presumption foolish in appearance, yet fortunate afterwards in event. The manner of this bold proceeding of Rienzi, instead of completing his ruin, which seemed inevitable, drove him into a labyrinth, by which, from a superiority of genius, he might extricate himself with the greater glory; and by that kind of fortune, which sometimes attends extraordinary personages, bring his affairs to an happy issue after a long chain of misfortunes. The emperor Charles was in fact so pleased to have it in his power to sacrifice Rienzi to the pope, a complaisance the king of Hungary had imprudently refused the holy father, that he began to secure his prey, not by imprisoning a man who had surrendered himself at discretion; such a conduct would have been inhuman; but by giving him some guards, in show of honour, and as much liberty as he could wish. He was treated as a prisoner of the first rank. On the other hand, Rienzi, by a refined policy, was willing to save Charles from the reproach which must necessarily fall upon him, in delivering up to an enraged pontiff a wretch, who came to seek an asylum in his dominions. He declared to the emperor, that, as he could, he ought to make known his retreat to the pope; that, for his part, he feared not to go to Avignon; on the contrary, desired nothing more. Charles,

overjoyed at this opportunity of blending his interests with his glory, made immediately his court to Clement, and loaded his prisoner with honours. He treated Rienzi in great splendour, and received and paid his visits as a foreign prince. The curiosity of seeing so famous a person, of whom such wonders had been related, drew continually such a concourse, that he had a court highly distinguished. The learned were pleased with his conversation; his mien, his vivacity, and the peculiar eloquence with which he expressed himself in Latin, universally charmed. His memory always furnished him with the most beautiful passages of the ancients, which he properly applied; and the natural sallies of his fertile imagination, made him esteemed a prodigy of wit.

While he was thus admired and caressed by the grandees at Prague, another sort of treatment was reserved for him at Avignon. It is difficult to express the joy which the pope showed at the letters which he received from the emperor, wherein he was informed by that prince, that he had at length in his power the man who had given his holiness so much inquietude. The opinion and dread he had of Rienzi, are best seen in his answer to the king of the Romans, dated August 17, 1350.

Clement begins with "returning thanks to the Almighty God for preserving the church from the furious tempest with which it was lately menaced;

for miraculously delivering up that true son of Belial, Nicholas Rienzi, into the hands of the emperor; a citizen of Rome, but a most wicked and dangerous citizen, condemned as a heretic by the legates, cardinals Embrun and Ceccano, from whose sentence there was no appeal. Afterwards the holy father makes his acknowledgments to that prince for securing the delinquent; that he, the emperor, had testified his zeal and attachment to the holy see in the most illustrious manner by services so considerable and important;" he tells him that "he had writ to the archbishop of Prague to propose to him, either to send under a strong guard the criminal to Avignon, or issue out himself process against him, and to acquaint him immediately with his determination, that according to the part he takes, he may either send a party to bring away the prisoner, or send the articles of impeachment against him." He concludes with beseeching the emperor "to assist the prelate in every thing that shall appear necessary in the present juncture, and to take particular care that that son of Belial find no means of making his escape."

Rienzi not only consented to go Avignon, but earnestly pressed for it. He surrendered himself to John bishop of Spoletto, Roger du Moulinneuf, and Hugh Carlatio, three officers whom his holiness had sent express to conduct him to Avignon. Through

all the cities and towns he passed the people flocked in crowds to meet him, crying out they were come to rescue and save him from the hands of the pope. But he turned about to them, thanking them for their good will, and protested that he went voluntarily and by his own option to Avignon. Great honours were paid him throughout his route, so that he marched rather in triumph, than in the quality of a prisoner going to appear before a severe judge and an offended sovereign.

BOOK X.

As soon as Rienzi arrived at Avignon, Clement VI. had the curiosity to see once more the man who, since the time of his first deputation, had the temerity and success to render himself greater than kings, and who had given him so much trouble and inquietude. He caused him to be brought into his presence, that he might observe his countenance, and hear if he durst say anything in his justification. The delinquent appeared at the feet of the pope, with a countenance truly modest and adapted to his disgrace; but with such a serenity, that neither the majesty of the sovereign pontiff, or his numerous court, could disconcert. He told the holy father that he was very sensible of the scandals that had been raised against him, and the fatal prejudices against his person which the sentences of the legates created, who had condemned him with much more precipitation than justice. That his holiness was too equitable to condemn him likewise unheard; that

far from endeavouring to avoid trial, he had long since determined to surrender, if he could have been assured of security from his court; that it was with no other view he passed through Bohemia, than to implore the emperor to obtain from his holiness the permission of justifying himself with the less danger; that as he had at present the happiness to embrace the knees of the common father of Christians, he humbly beseeched him to appoint him judges, before whom he was ready to give so good an account of his conduct, as he hoped, after a strict examination, would demonstrate that no man whatever was more strongly attached to the church, the holy see, and the holy father in particular than he was; and that if he had committed some errors in the government of a people so untoward and tumultuous as the Romans, they were of such a nature as to render him rather an object of compassion than correction.

The pope, hearing the ring-leader of the conspiracy, loaded with crimes most infamous, declare that he had not thrown himself at his feet but to implore mercy, was amazed at the assurance with which he desired judgment, and pretended innocence. The holy father told him, that as he desired justice, his tyrannies most loudly called for it, and laid the holy see under a necessity of proceeding against him with the utmost severity; that it would much better become a man, accused of such violent enormities and

excesses as he was, to endeavour to obtain indulgence by a frank and sincere confession of his crimes, than to aggravates them by base pretensions to innocence.

He was conducted by the pope's order to a particular prison prepared on purpose for him as a state prisoner, where he was shut up alone and chained to the floor. Three cardinals were nominated to carry on the proceedings against him. The chief articles of accusation turned upon the same grievances which the pope had set forth in his letter, written to the Romans a short time before Rienzi's flight, and which we have already inserted.

Rienzi endeavoured to justify himself against every article of the impeachment. To the charge of heresy, he protested that he was entirely in subjection to the church, that if any unguarded term had passed him, it was either through ignorance or want of attention, that therefore he disowned the whole of this article. He acknowledged that he had received the ambassadors of Lewis of Bavaria, and that he had sent the same to him; but with no other intention than to bring about his reconciliation to the holy see. In regard to Constantine's urn, he used it not in the irreverend manner a pagan emperor had done, but frequently received as a good Catholic the body of Jesus Christ. As to the pope's table, he must own his belief, that his greatest crime was eating thereon

with his holiness's vicar after they had been at dice together upon it. He concluded, that the ceremonies so much exclaimed against at his coronation, had nothing in themselves either culpable or contrary to the rights of the church, although practised heretofore among the Pagans.

The pope was by nature humane and benevolent; no man was a better judge of true merit; he knew he had nothing farther to fear from Rienzi; to these circumstances our prisoner was most probably obliged for the mild treatment he met with. His holiness contented himself with detaining him in prison, as a person of too dangerous a spirit, and too capable of forming new and pernicious projects, to be set at liberty.

Rienzi remained in prison, and, excepting his fetters, was used with great lenity. They furnished him with whatever books he desired. He spent his time in reading the bible and the Roman historians, of whom Livy was his favorite. He read that author with great assiduity, making particular remarks upon the revolutions, the civil wars, and the dissensions between the senate and people. The different proceedings of the tribunes, their exploits, their successes, their misfortunes, attracted a more than ordinary attention, as he flattered himself he should yet one day make a proper application of some passages in regard to himself.

But while he was thus searching in Livy the means of re-establishing himself, Providence assisted him with those that were more efficacious and certain; the troubles which fell out at Rome after his departure.

Without expatiating on the two senators established by cardinal Embrun, immediately after the banishment of Rienzi, or the weakness of their administration, which, compared with the inflexible resolution of the tribune, formed a dangerous contrast on the minds of a people naturally mutinous, and of late accustomed to love and fear that idol; without expatiating on the legateship of cardinal Ceccano, who, notwithstanding the good order he endeavoured to maintain during the jubilee, could not secure himself from insult, and died at length in the manner before related, the Romans, in consequence of the jubilee, declared to the pope that they were willing to live hereafter in an entire dependence upon his holiness; and to give him proofs thereof, they besought him to send four cardinals to establish among them such a form of government as he should judge most proper. These prelates made regulations for the government of the city, and pursuing the policy of the legates and of Rienzi himself, divided the authority between the Colonnas and Ursinis, by nominating Sciarra Colonna and Jordan Ursini senators, with this particular and new circumstance, that

in their commission it was specified they were made so by authority of the pope. Cardinal Embrun gave room for this innovation in making himself one of the senators for the holy see after the flight of Rienzi, and keeping the people in remembrance of their dependence upon the sovereign pontiff. But the people, on one hand, paid little regard to these outward appearances of subjection, which they could easily make or relinquish according to their interests; on the other, the new senators could not long hold a good understanding among themselves. They quarrelled, and the quarrel was carried to such a length, that Colonna, finding himself the weaker, was obliged to yield his authority to his copartner. His government was no ways pleasing to the Romans, who had an inclination to sedition ever since the absence of their tribune. The ancient disorders revived; they plundered each other with open violence. They found no surer means of getting rid of their senator than by engaging underhand his enemies without to besiege one of his palaces. Jordan flew for assistance; in his absence the pope's vicar, Ponce de Perrot, a man of a better head-piece and greater resolution than his predecessor Raymond in the time of Rienzi, laid hold on this opportunity, and, equally dissatisfied with senators and people, suddenly made himself master of the capitol. But his stay was very short. James Savelli, of the Colonna's party, soon com-

pelled him to withdraw, while Stephen Colonna, son of one and brother to the other Colonna, who were killed at St. Laurence's gate fighting against the tribune, possessed himself of a fortress at Rome, which was called the Count's Tower.

Proceedings like these could not fail of producing great confusion in the city, which, during this anarchy, was exposed to all manner of public robbery. Thefts and murders were again committed with impunity: foreigners, who came last to obtain indulgence, fell sacrifices to the violences and depredations of the populace. If among the citizens those of the better sort, touched with the deplorable situation of the city, deliberated upon the most effectual means to put a stop to these enormities, their consultations were as soon broke up as opened by reason of the different parties subsisting among them; each imagining he might at will support or abandon his friends. The most honest, however, met to try all possible endeavours to avert, after the example of Rienzi, evils which were now become insupportable.

They met in St. Mary's Church, and agreed that the only remedy they had left was to choose a chief, who should govern the city with an absolute power. They fixed upon John Cerroni, who was elected by unanimous consent, and nominated chief of the people. He was no more than a citizen of Rome, but of a family not the most inconsiderable; of an

age and character that rendered him respected, and worthy of occupying his place by other methods than that of this confederacy. But the late measures of the grandees and the mutiny of the people, made these kinds of conspiracy in some sort necessary.

The election over, they brought Cerroni in great pomp, but without tumult or arms, to the palace of the capitol, which was then possessed by James Savelli, after he had driven from thence the pope's vicar. Savelli, unable to make head against them, readily complied with their demands, and surrendered the capitol. Cerroni entered it, and immediately ordered the bell to be rung, which had not been heard since Rienzi's government. At the first sound the people flocked without arms; the grandees, on the contrary, alarmed at this novelty, and believing that the tribune was escaped out of prison and returned to crush them, came, well armed and attended, to the capitol. They desired to know the meaning of this step; the people answered with one voice, that they had chosen John Cerroni their chief and governor of the city according to the laws of equity. The nobles, astonished at so resolute a reply, assumed the best countenances they were able, and subscribed to an election made without their privity.

Cerroni found himself universally acknowledged governor; but to secure his authority, and to follow the example of Rienzi, he desired to obtain the con-

sent of the pope's vicar. That prelate came on the first notice. As in all appearance he had dived into the mystery, and was determined to humble the nobles, he cheerfully gave his consent, but with a dexterity superior to his predecessor. He insisted above all things, that Cerroni should take an oath of fidelity to the church, and swear punctually to obey every order of the pope. By this step the vicar, after receiving his oath and sealing his authority, made lawful a conspiracy, which in Rienzi had been esteemed tyrannical. All this happened on St. Stephen's day, and was concluded before noon to the great content of the people. It is certain the court of Avignon could not have wished for a better choice than this made in the person of Cerroni, a just man, of an honest heart and a peaceable disposition, an enemy to violence, free from all manner of vice, and above all, of so equal a frame of mind, that this new dignity made not the least alteration in him. He governed the people in peace, and without any divisions either within or without, except one excursion he was obliged to make upon the territories of John de Vic, governor of Viterbo.

That turbulent man was daily rendering himself more and more formidable, by taking possession of several places belonging to the ecclesiastical state, which since Rienzi's flight were abandoned to the discretion of the first who ventured to seize them;

the Romans, who could not behold so near and so dangerous a neighbour aggrandising himself in this manner, judged this the proper time to oppose his conquests, as the people, still retaining the idea of their old tribune, were willing to follow the paths he had marked for them, and attack, as he had done, the governor of Viterbo. Accordingly the troops were assembled, the command of which was given to Jordan Ursini, with orders to join Nicholas de Serra, who commanded the forces of the church in the territories of the patrimony. The whole composed an army of twelve thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, which were destined to besiege Viterbo, and not to separate till they had taken the city. But the moment they were joined, an unlucky accident happened, which disconcerted all their measures. De Serra, who was appointed commander in chief, upon whose experience they had great hopes of making a happy campaign, was torn to pieces by his horse running away with him. They instantly laid aside their enterprise, separated their armies, and the Roman troops returned, without performing any other exploit, than pillaging the outskirts of Viterbo.

The issue of this expedition was not attributed to Cerroni, who had the prudence, in imitation of Rienzi, to nominate another to serve in the profession of war, in which he had never engaged. Content

to discharge his office with more moderation and less severity than Rienzi, he had the honour to govern peaceably almost twenty months.

A conduct so wise should have established, one might have imagined, his authority, and gained him the affection of the Romans; but he knew little of that restless and factious people. They required one of more life and spirit: accustomed to the bloody scenes and pompous cavalcades of their tribune, they were vexed at seeing no more of those pomps, or those great executions, which he used to make a proper spectacle for their natural inquietude. They became tired of the moderation and uniformity of Cerroni; he was no longer obeyed, his orders were frequently despised; they lost all respect for him, and the grandees insulted him with impunity. He on his part was tired with ruling a people so fickle and untractable, and laying hold of an opportunity, which an insult committed upon his person by Luke Savelli in presence of the people, gave him, he assembled them and resigned his office. The resignation of a man, who was disinterested enough to renounce an almost sovereign dignity, or who had no more courage than to sacrifice his repose to his ambition, caused great division among the Romans; some advised to take him at his word; others to oblige him to continue in his administration and seek revenge. Reynold Ursini, who was at the head

of the last party, took up arms, and drove Savelli and his partisans from Rome; but they soon returned with a great army. Cerroni ordered the capitol-bell to be rung, but was as much regarded as Rienzi was at the time of count Altamura's insurrection. Having secured his most valuable moveables, especially six thousand florins granted him out of the ecclesiastical revenues for the support of his dignity, he departed Rome in the month of September 1352, somewhat more than a year and half from his taking upon him the reins of government. He voluntarily abandoned a people, unworthy of such a chief, and having purchased a castle in Abruzzo, led hereafter a private life, infinitely more happy than Rienzi, as well upon the account of the liberty he enjoyed, as for the moderation which yielded him his happiness; while the other in his dungeon was more than ever a slave to his ambition.

After the retreat of Cerroni the grandees reassumed their usual superiority, and re-established the ancient form of government in nominating senators; they still pursued their ancient policy in balancing the power of the two illustrious houses, and choosing on the one side Berthold Ursini, and on the other Stephen Colonna, to appease or at least suspend their present animosities.

During their administration Clement VI. died at Avignon, after he had possessed the holy see ten

years and seven months. The superstitious, or rather the disaffected, at the residence of the popes at Avignon, imagined that his death was foretold at Rome by a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, which melted all the bells of St. Peter's church, and threw down part of the steeple and vault. This storm happened on the second of December 1352, and Clement died on the sixth of the same month. The cardinals entered the conclave a few days after his death. To favour the secret practices of the king of France, who had already prepared himself by a journey to Avignon, the sacred college, of whom a great number were his subjects, pushed the election with such briskness, that on the 28th of December the same year, cardinal Stephen Albert, a Frenchman, was chosen, and assumed the name of Innocent VI. His abilities raised him from the post of auditor of the pope's palace, to the dignity of a cardinal, and now to the sovereign pontificate. He was a man of an exemplary life, rigid virtue, and fervent zeal for the interests of the church, as he demonstrated after his advancement to the papacy, by the measures he took to restore the territories which had been taken from her domains. Usurpation was indeed arrived at a great height; out of all belonging to the church in Romandiola, Ancona, Spoleto, &c. little remained undivided. A number of petty tyrants took the opportunity of possessing them-

selves of the church's rights, not only upon account of the pope's absence and residence at Avignon, but the fatal divisions between the church and the empire, who plundered alternately each other to the advantage of the usurpers. John de Vic, who had established the seat of his tyranny at Viterbo, reunited Ovieto, Marta, Corneto, &c. with all the fortresses round about, and further threatened Peruza. Ancona, &c. were in the hands of Malatesta. Francis Ordelaffi made himself master of Forli, Imola, Giazolo, &c. It may not be improper to give the reader an idea of the characters of some of these petty tyrants. Francis Ordelaffi had been excommunicated thirty years. The day that the bishop anathematised him again by the pope's order with the sound of bell, he on his side caused others to sound, excommunicated the pope and cardinals, and to carry his outrage to the last degree, burnt them in effigy upon the spot: he was continually giving affronts to the bishop, which occasioned at length his flight; he compelled the clergy to perform divine service notwithstanding their orders to the contrary; and out of twenty-one priests who refused to obey him, and of whom fourteen were religious, he caused eight to be hanged, seven to be flayed, and the others to be so cruelly tormented, that they expired under their punishment. When the legate, whom the pope sent, as we have said before, to recover by

force the ecclesiastical territories, besieged the town of Cesenna, Ordelaffi's wife, who governed it for him, chose rather to continue prisoner in the hands of the legate with one of her sons and two of her nephews, than return to her husband, so much she dreaded the first sallies of his fury. The prelate, believing that the natural tenderness of a wife and children would mollify the heart of this barbarous monster, sent one of his officers to acquaint him, that he would immediately release them, upon his restoring the church the places which he had torn from her. Ordelaffi heard the proposition with laughter and contempt, and sent the envoy for answer, 'that he had taken him for a cunning man, but found he was mistaken; that he must know if he had him in his power for three days, as he had had his wife and children, he would inevitably have been hanged.' The barbarity with which he treated two of his children, sufficiently testifies, that his answer was less the effect of policy than boldness. The first was the youngest of his two sons, named Lewis: one day as he was throwing himself at his father's feet, and conjuring him with tears to treat with the legate and reconcile himself to the pope, "Begone, you bastard," replied the monster, "you are no son of mine:" in a moment, as he was endeavouring to avoid his fury, he threw an arrow at

him, the head of which entered his ribs, and gave him a wound of which he died within a few hours.

The other was one of his daughters married to a great lord. She came to seek him, having heard of her mother's imprisonment, and embracing his knees; "What, my father," said she, "will you suffer my mother to remain a captive? In the name of Heaven reconcile yourself to the church." The barbarous wretch answered her only by catching her by the hair, and spliting her skull with his sabre. A man who had so little humanity towards those who ought to have been dearest to him, could not be supposed to have much towards his enemies. He waged a cruel war, without any regard to the laws of nations, and without concerning himself about reprisals. A crusade was formed against him. When Ordelaffi took any of the crusadoes during the course of the war, those whom he had a mind to use the most gently, he burnt with an hot iron in the sole of the foot with the sign of the cross, saying to them in derision, "This cross of cloth you wear must wear out; that I present you with never will." Of those prisoners he chose to treat with more severity, some were hanged, some flayed, and others beheaded, with this bitter and impious satire upon them. "You have entered into this war," said he to them, "to obtain Heaven, if I should set you at

liberty you are miserable; you will return to your sins: is it not better then to send you while penitent into the other world, where you will find paradise open for you?" This tyrant was the more difficult to subdue, as with all his vices, which rendered him an object of public abhorrence, he had the art to make himself beloved among his own subjects. He was charitable, popular, affable. He relieved the poor, and gave dowries to ladies of small fortunes: more attentive to enrich himself at the expense of other nations than at that of his own, he so far gained the affections of his people, that they were ready to spill the last drop of their blood in his service. As to the rest, he was a man void of justice, religion, humanity: a declared enemy to the priesthood and every thing belonging to the church.

John Visconti, archbishop and lord of Milan, was a man of a different character from that of Ordelaffi. He had an infinite respect for the popes; but under colour of outward condescension, he seized upon their domains without scruple. When they sent prelates to him, to make remonstrances upon a conduct so opposite to the ecclesiastic power upon his usurpations and tyrannies, he received them with honour, and heard them with a profound veneration for their character and for the sovereign pontiff; but at the same time under their eyes possessed himself at will of all the church lands he was able. Cardinal

Ceccano, passing through Milan on his legateship to Rome, the archbishop went out to meet him with a body of officers and led horses so richly caprisoned, that the legate in surprise asked him "For whom was so great pomp?" He answered with an air of humility, "that it was to make known to the holy father, that he had under him a petty clerk who could do something." About a year before the death of Clement VI. this archbishop, so respectful, and so submissive in appearance to the pope's orders, took possession of Bologna, a city belonging to the ecclesiastical state. The pope, extremely offended at an usurpation so heinous in a man engaged by his character rather to protect than invade the rights of the church, sent to him a legate to bring him back to his duty, and insist upon the restoring of Bologna. The legate discharged his commission faithfully, and added to the archbishop that he might take his choice of the temporal and spiritual affairs of Milan, as he could not at one time possess both. The prelate having heard him respectfully, told him he would bring him an answer the Sunday following in the cathedral. On the day appointed, having said mass pontifically, he advanced towards the legate, who signified to him a second time the pope's orders in presence of the congregation, with the same compliment of his choice in regard to the temporal and spiritual authority. At these words the archbishop taking in one hand

a naked sword, and in the other a crucifix, said, "Behold my spiritual in the crucifix, and for this sword it is my temporal, and the defence of the one and the other." The legate was obliged to return without any other answer, and the pope for his refusal and the manner of it, cited him by a brief expressly to appear before him, under pain of excommunication. The archbishop receiving the brief with all possible respect, answered, that he would punctually obey his holiness. He ordered one of his secretaries to set out immediately for Avignon, with orders to hire and retain as many palaces, houses and stables as possibly he could, with provision for the subsistance of twelve thousand horsemen, and six thousand men on foot. The secretary executed his orders with such diligence, that in a few days no lodgings could be got at the inns for the foreigners, whose affairs continually called them to court. The pope informed of this impediment, asked the secretary, if the archbishop intended to bring the whole world with him, as he had occasion for so many lodgings? The secretary replied, he was really afraid that he had not taken enough, for his master would be followed by eighteen thousand men, two thirds of whom would be horsemen, without reckoning the great number of inhabitants of Milan, who would accompany them merely to honour the archbishop his master; upon which the pope wrote to the arch-

bishop to let him know he would dispense with his journey; but his holiness was obliged to pay the expenses of his preparations, which being extensive, cost the holy father above thirty thousand florins for presuming thus to cite the archbishop and lord of Milan.

As for John de Vic and Malatesta, the character of the one hath already been given, and that of the other will appear in the sequel: if they were not men of such rank as the former, they were however formidable upon account of their numerous conquests and their experience in war. These four tyrants and some other being difficult to subdue, Innocent VI. resolved to make choice of some person of dexterity, for a commission of such importance: He cast his eye upon cardinal Giles d'Albornos, a Spaniard, who was created a cardinal in the last promotion of Clement VI. the 18th of December, 1350. He was a man of known merit; his resolution, his courage and experience, both in war and in negociation, seemed to bid fair for success in this enterprise. He distinguished himself in his youth in the war of Granada, and against the Saracens and Moors under king Alphonsus. Afterwards entering into holy orders he became archbishop of Toledo. The pope having nominated him legate and general in the war of Italy, invested him with full powers to grant the usurpers such conditions as he should

think fit, and dispose of all the revenues of the holy see, which were appropriated for the expedition. This extent of power gave room afterwards to his enemies to asperse him before Urban V. as if he had applied part of the monies to his own advantage. They repeated their accusation so frequently, that the holy father, as prepossessed as he was in favour of cardinal d'Albornos, could not help insinuating to him, that for the sake of his reputation he ought to account for his fifteen years administration of all the ecclesiastical domains. But this snare served only to give a fresh lustre to his glory, by the noble manner in which he knew how to clear himself. He caused a wagon the next day to be placed under Urban's window, drawn by four oxen, and laden with the keys of all the cities, towns, and fortresses, which he had brought back to the obedience of the holy see. Then mounting the wagon, he thus addressed the pope: "Behold, holy father, to what purposes I have employed the revenues of the church." Urban admired the greatness of the cardinal's soul, and ashamed that he had given uneasiness to a man, who had rendered him such essential service, embraced him and loudly commended his disinterestedness and integrity.

D'Albornos began his expedition about autumn 1353, and departed from Avignon with a grand army, composed of soldiers of different nations. He

marched through Milan. That he might not startle the archbishop, he spoke not one word of Bologna, and treated him as a friend of the holy see. The archbishop, on his side, received him with such honours and magnificence, as the pope could not help mentioning without praise. He would not, however, grant him a passage through Bologna, lest he might be tempted to seize upon it. As it was proper at the beginning to keep in with so dangerous and powerful an enemy, the legate took his route through Pisa, entered into Florence, and from thence into the territories of the patrimony, where he secured several places, such as Montefiascone, Aquapendente, and Bolzena. John de Vic kept in his possession almost all the rest of the patrimony, by which the prelate intended to begin with the restoring the ecclesiastic territories. He instantly despatched an express to the prefect, to desire him to come and confer with him in an amicable manner, with assurances of the safety of his person. De Vic went to meet him, and as his practice was to promise all, and perform nothing, he readily agreed with the legate in every thing, and at the same time signed a treaty for restoring those places he had no right to. But scarcely was he returned to Viterbo, before he imagined he was freed from keeping his word; he put himself in a state of defence, and bantering the cardinal said, that he was simple enough to suppose

a dash of the pen could restore to him places taken by the point of the sword. "I will not strike a blow;" added he, "that prelate brings with him fifty priests or almoners, whom my footmen alone shall demolish." The legate soon let him see, that his pretended fifty priests were good troops and able to demolish him. Having actually made leagues with the republics of Florence, Sienna, and Perusa, he came before Viterbo, with so considerable a body of his army, that he forced Re Vic to surrender Viterbo, Orvieto, and all that he had taken from the church.

The cardinal, after erecting a strong citadel at Viterbo, and restoring to the pope the whole patrimony, directed his march to Ancona against Malatesta. Malatesta, supported by his brother Galeotto, a brave warrior, received at first the legate's propositions with a bravado; Galeotto carried it so far as to propose to decide the quarrel by a single combat. The cardinal having accepted the challenge, the warrior evaded it with railleries, which obliged the legate to pursue him with the main of his army. The emperor Charles sent him a reinforcement of Germans, whose countenances alone so terrified Galeotto, that he surrendered without drawing a sword. Malatesta, to ransom his brother, restored all that he had taken. The cardinal made a good use of the Malatestas, and placed them at the head of the eccle-

siastical forces, destined against the other usurpers. Ordelaffi cost him much more time and labour before he was conquered. He had at once two armies, one of twelve thousand croisades, and the other of thirty thousand soldiers, who made terrible havoc. Their principal achievement was the taking of Cezeno. Cia, wife of Ordelaffi, and resolute as her husband, governed this city, as he did that of Forli. These two places withstood the two armies. The governess of Cezeno, animated by a letter sent from her husband, wherein he exhorted her to make a stout defence, answered him, "Do you take care of Forli, I will be answerable for Cezeno." She had kept her word, in spite of all the legate's forces who besieged it, if she had not received another letter from her husband who therein ordered her upon the immediate receipt of it, to behead four Cezeneze, namely John Zaganella, James Bastardi, Palazzino, and Bertonuccio, whom he suspected to be Guelphs, that is to say, inclinable to the pope. The governess thought herself obliged, before she took any rash step, to examine into the conduct of these four citizens; and finding nothing therein that merited such severe usage, she communicated the contents of her letter to Scaraglino and Tumberti, two of Ordelaffi's confidants. They advised her to save them, not only upon account of their innocence, but for fear their execution should occasion a revolt in the city. The

persons accused having heard by some imprudent confidant, of the dangers they had escaped, and the suspicions entertained of them, vowed revenge. Zaganella, in concert with the other three, secretly engaged all those they judged disaffected; the number was so considerable, that the revolters erected batteries, and possessed themselves of one gate and some towers; the Hungarians, in correspondence with them without, entering the city, animated the sedition to so great a degree, that the Malatestas, coming up, made themselves masters of the place.

Cia, enclosed in the citadel, took her revenge upon Scaraglino and Tumberti, whom she caused to be beheaded; an action her husband by no means approved of. But neither the obstinate defence she made, nor the thickness of the towers to which she was retired, could save the citadel. The legate ordered all to be undermined. They set fire to the pillars of the chief tower, which by its fall alarmed the whole garrison; they were upon the point of destroying another, when the governess thought of a stratagem; it was to imprison in it a great number of Cezenese, whom she suspected most.

As the legate was reconnoitring the works, he was surprised to see above five hundred women, with their hair dishevelled, crying out for mercy

upon their husbands and relations, who were confined in that tower upon the point of falling. D'Albornos perceived the artifice, and took the advantage of pushing the surrender of the place. Having saved the lives of those who had been sent to the tower, he caused it to be pulled down, in order to enter the city through the wide breach, and made the governess prisoner of war, with all the garrison. He was just going to attack Forli, when an excursion from the count of Savoy into Provence obliged him to lay down his arms, leaving the management of the remainder of the expedition to the abbot of Bologna, a Frenchman, who moved very slowly. D'Albornos afterwards returned to Italy, and by degrees suppressed all the petty tyrants; some by force, some by address, and others by artifice. But without entering farther into a detail of these affairs, which lasted many years, and which, except the few mentioned, are not our subject, we return to Rienzi.

At the time all Tuscany and the Romans were attentive to cardinal D'Albornos, whose grand projects had set them all in motion, they were strangely surprised to behold the celebrated Nicholas Rienzi arrived from Avignon in his retinue, whom they believed to be shut up close for life in some of the pope's prisons. As the legate treated him with honour, although he kept him under his dependence

and watched his motions, a return so glorious and so unexpected, seemed to have some very strong and pressing motives. They were not mistaken in joining the situation of affairs in Italy with the want they had of him, and the necessity of his re-establishment, as shall presently be unfolded.

BOOK XI.

COUNT Berthold Ursini and the young Stephen Colonna, who governed Rome in quality of senators, since the retreat of Cerońi, excited the murmurs of the whole people by their imprudent and self-interested conduct. As they had resolved to make an exorbitant profit of the corn which they sold abroad, the granaries were soon exhausted to such a degree, that on the 15th of February, 1353, the people went to buy corn at the capitol, where the market-place was kept, and where the senators lodged; they found so little, and that at so high a price that they were most violently enraged. The mob gathered and held together, and arming themselves with stones ran to the palace, which they entered by force. Colonna, who was young, jumped out of a window in disguise, and happily saved himself through a back door. Count Berthold, less active, could not avoid the fury of the populace, although he had time sufficient to have armed himself before they

possibly could enter his palace. As he was coming down the steps to lay hold of a horse, he was attacked with a shower of stones, which stunned him so grievously, that he was obliged to crawl to an image of the Virgin at the bottom of the palace; but the people, without paying any regard to this asylum, continued stoning him with such barbarity, that he died, buried as it were under a heap of stones six feet high. This catastrophe seemed in some measure a remedy for the evils the people had undergone. The scarcity ceased, or seemed to cease, by reason, that either the people having satisfied their vengeance were not so pressing at market, or that those, who had laid up stores of corn, chose rather to open their granaries, than expose themselves to the like sort of treatment.

Nevertheless the death of this unfortunate senator, which had in appearance established plenty at Rome, could not produce peace. Two new factions were formed, widely different from those which had hitherto rent the city. For instead of seeing always, as before, on the one side the Colonnas with the Savelli, and on the other the Ursini, in these every one of both parties were divided in such a manner, that Ursini was seen against Ursini, and Savellis against Colonnas; overturning the city, departing from Rome, raising troops, keeping the field the

whole month of August, and filling all places with blood and slaughter.

During these divisions, the governor of Viterbo, John de Vic, under pretence of having been prefect of the city of Rome, formed intrigues to make himself master of it. The pope, informed of his designs, and of the party he had already engaged at Rome, wrote a letter to the Romans, exhorting them to prevent the enterprises of so dangerous a neighbour. The letter was dated August 25, 1355; but before it could arrive, and at the very time that the faction of the prefect were making use of their utmost efforts in his favour, Providence, to punish the Romans for their inconstancy and their mutinies, permitted a new tyrant to arise in the midst of them, whose excess rendered at length the return of Rienzi necessary.

The tyrant, who appeared on the stage towards the close of the month of August, 1353, was named Francis Baroncelli, son of James of the same name, and of Solpitia Lunella. By the one he was of very mean extract, by the other of a very creditable family. He possessed the same office as Rienzi did at the time he was chosen tribune, that of notary of the capitol. He had in marriage with Louisa Barati two sons, great libertines. As he wanted not ambition or genius, and was master of much more resolution than

Rienzi, to whom he was inferior in eloquence and knowledge, he resolved to follow his steps, and raise himself to the same authority by the ways he had beaten for him. He found himself in the same circumstances; the grandees were absent, and waging war with the utmost vigour without; within they robbed, massacred, and gave themselves up to all manner of luxury, as before the elevation of Rienzi. Baroncelli flattered himself he had courage sufficient to undertake the enterprise and gain success. As the decisive stroke consisted in making himself master of the capitol, and of that famous bell which Rienzi had made of such service and importance, we shall show in what manner he acted to accomplish his design.

The government of the capitol during these divisions was placed in the hands of Paul Jancolini, captain of the guards of that place. This man lived in open enmity with Nicholas Calvio, a citizen of great credit and interest. Baroncelli resolved to make the second serviceable to him in getting rid of the first. He found Calvio his friend, and assuring him of the warmth with which he engaged in his resentment, promised him to deliver up the other as a victim. Calvio, who had vowed the death of Jancolini, entered with joy into his proposition. They appointed an holiday for the assassination, when the governor must hear mass in St. Mark's church. They agreed

that Calvio, with a troop of assassins, should wait for his enemy during mass at the church door, and that in the meanwhile Baroncelli, who had a correspondence in the capitol, should get the bell rung, which should be the signal for Calvio to favour the insurrection and assassination. Everything passed in the manner they had ordered. On the day appointed, Jancolini went to church; as soon as he heard the capitol bell, he went out directly to see from whence came the alarm. He had scarcely got out of the porch before the conspirators surrounded and massacred him. The friends of Jancolini who accompanied him hastened to his assistance, and fell upon the assassins; but they, supported by their number, made a stout resistance, and the people entering into the quarrel according to their different parties, a bloody battle ensued which lasted four or five hours. The tumult became universal; during the confusion Baroncelli made himself master of the capitol, and hoisted the standard of the people. At that time his emissaries having ran through all the streets, crying out "Liberty! liberty! liberty!" drew the mob to the capitol; when Baroncelli, having caused the trumpets to sound, and silence afterwards to be called, invited the Romans to go into Araceli church, in order to maintain their liberties most dear to them. The Romans, ever fond of novelties, pressed to enter. Baroncelli presently

showed himself, clothed in a long robe above his arms, and being seated in a chair which was placed for him on one side the great altar, he told the assembly that "It was neither ambition or interest that engaged him to speak in that place, but entirely the zeal with which he burnt for his country. That he could never see without the most lively emotions the deplorable state in which the unbounded licentiousness of the nobles had again involved them. That their violences seemed to be suspended for a time only to be committed again with greater fury. That by their tyranny and dissensions Rome was once more exposed to robberies, murders, and all the former enormities; that no surety remained either for their goods, chattels, or lives; that everything, both sacred and profane, was violated; that, in one word, nought appeared but a general confusion. Yet great as the wound was, he despaired not of a salve; that he was assured he had courage and power sufficient to restore to the Romans tranquillity, happiness, glory, and liberty."

The people, to whom his discourse had recalled the idea of their old tribune, whom they always regretted, imagined they beheld him in the person of Baroncelli. They unanimously applauded his proposition; they committed to his care the capitol, and sung *Te Deum*. The next day, agreeable to the plan he had formed of copying in everything Rienzi, he declaimed

afresh against the pride and avarice of the grandees. He expatiated on the felicity, grandeur, and universal power of the ancient Romans, and upon the intolerable burdens the nobles had for some years past laid upon them. He inveighed bitterly against the sovereign pontiffs, especially Innocent VI., declaring that his absence and residence at Avignon, like his late predecessor's, was the sole cause of the miserable bondage under which the people groaned. Then calling to mind the government of Rienzi, he set forth the necessity of the tribune's office, and extolled the good establishment which that tribune had with so much equity and honour accomplished. He concluded, "That this form of government was so excellent, that Rome had been entirely restored to her former splendour, if Rienzi, intoxicated by his fortune, had not turned from his first road to clear a way to tyranny and arbitrary power; that the errors and vices of that great man had taught him to imitate his virtues only, and pursue his schemes; that if they would vouchsafe to elect him tribune, he would promise effectually to put a stop to all the disorders which the ambition of the nobles and senators, and the tyranny of Rienzi, had occasioned; to pull down the pride of the haughty grandees, to put an end to the public robberies, and suppress the luxury of an infatuated city, to re-establish plenty at Rome, justice at the tribunal, devotion in the churches, the ancient majesty of the republic, and that most precious liberty,

for which the Romans had been ever renowned." When he had finished, he took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, on which were wrote the following rules, which he caused to be read aloud to the people :—

I. Whoever shall dare to disturb, calumniate, or by secret murmurs attack the order of government, shall be treated as an enemy to his country; his goods shall be confiscated, his house laid level with the ground, and, if escaped, his head in effigy stuck upon the walls of the capitol.

II. Every homicide shall be punished with death: if he conceals himself and appears not within the space of one month, process shall be issued out against him for contumacy.

III. Every accusation shall be brought in presence of the accused; and if the accuser makes not good his assertion, he shall be subject to the penalties of *lex talionis.*

IV. Those who shall remove and live without the city shall be punished with the confiscation of their estate.

V. The disputes of the Roman nobility with the vassals shall be decided by the tribune.

VI. The nobles who protect public robbers shall forfeit the estate on which they are apprehended.

VII. If any nobleman grant asylum to a criminal, he shall be fined one thousand marks of silver, which shall be applied to the relief of widows and orphans

VIII. The customs, imposts, and other revenues of the city shall be applied to no other use than that of the public.

IX. At every quarter of the city shall be set a company of one hundred foot, and twenty-five horse to mount guard day and night.

X. Every one of these companies shall be at the disposition of the general, and all repair to the capitol at the first sound of the bell.

XI. The lords, barons, and others of the nobility, who possess towns, castles, villages or lands within the jurisdiction of Rome, shall appear whenever they are called to the service of the republic.

XII. Those to whom any thing may offer for the public welfare, shall give advice.

These twelve rules, made to represent the twelve tables of the Roman laws, were received with loud acclamations. Baroncelli, to keep up the ardour of these first motions, the next day made every captain of the quarters take oaths, and make known to the people immediately the terms by a cordelier. The tribune went afterwards to d'Araceli church, where he harangued the people. There he received by the hands of Tarquinio Lelli, general of the companies, the tribune's robe and the vestment of a knight. Then he put on a cloth gown trimmed with gold, the usual habit of senators, and took in his hand a silver sceptre with a cross of gold. After which the chancellor Peter Roscio proclaimed him

tribune in the name and by the authority of the people in this style: Francis Baroncelli, second tribune and consul of Rome.

After his installation, he put the standard of the people into the hands of Thomas Monte Rochio, and being seated on a purple throne he received homage from all the officers of war and justice in presenting them his hand to kiss. He began the exercise of his office with displacing some magistrates, and putting in their room men entirely devoted to him. Among those he displaced, were three registers of the senate, whom he caused to be hanged, and others to be whipped. He made several examples of severity upon some particulars, whom he punished with more or less rigour, according to the nature of their crimes; in a word, he determined to strike all with terror, according to the example of Rienzi. But if he excelled the old tribune in some principal politics, he fell far short of him in regard to the pope. Far from managing so dexterously the court of Avignon, and making it authorise what it could not avoid, as Rienzi at the commencement of his government had done, he imprudently irritated it by an open revolt, and by letters as fiery as his conduct was insolent.

The pope, before the receipt of his letter, or rather abusive citation, was informed of all that had passed by Hugh Arpajon his nuncio. He had heard likewise of every motion the tyrant had made to gain

to his party the Gibelines, always a powerful faction against the popes. He knew that to obtain the favour of the emperor Charles, Baroncelli had the assurance to invite him to Rome, to receive the imperial diadem from the hands of the senate and the Roman people, affecting thereby to display the majesty of the empire and the authority of the Romans. These proceedings, joined to the success of so sudden a revolution, alarmed the holy father. He judged with reason, that if he gave time to Baroncelli to unite with the Gibelines, his party would not be inferior. It is true, the petty tyrants were singly too weak to resist the forces of the church; but if they all joined, they would form a power so considerable, as must inevitably baffle all the efforts which the legate had for years been making to subdue them separately. In this dilemma Innocent VI. found himself obliged to oppose the new tyrant; a tyrant of great authority, who at the very first began with opening the way to tyranny. He imagined that Rienzi, chastised by an imprisonment of three years, would act with more moderation than he had formerly done, and that gratitude would oblige him the remainder of his life to preserve an inviolable attachment to the holy see, by whose favour he should be re-established.

Rienzi, who had long languished in prison, had at length given over all hopes of liberty, and depended only upon those who had so closely confined him.

He was agreeably surprised at the time they came to take him out of his apartment, with an earnestness and in a manner that seemed to bespeak good fortune. They conducted him to the pope, who received him very graciously, and told him "That the holy see, after the example of God, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live, had no other view in keeping him in prison so many years, than to give him leisure to examine himself; that as he had room to believe his adversity had made him shine brighter than his past extravagancies, and put him in a condition of employing to a better advantage the happy talents given him by heaveu, he had higher views and more glorious than that of barely granting him his liberty; that he intended to confer the government of Rome upon him in quality of a senator; that, elevated to a rank so high, not by conspiracy and a seditious mob, but by the authority of a sovereign pontiff, he must behave in that office worthy the hand that raised him; that, forsaking the tyrannic maxims that ruined him, he must form ideas agreeable to those of a magistrate invested by lawful authority; that, in one word, he hoped that, justifying by his dependence and submission to the church, the choice he had made of his person, he would give the holy see reason to be well satisfied with the extraordinary and unexpected favours it had heaped upon him." This is the substance of

the letter, which the pope wrote with his own hand in answer to Hugh Arpajon the 15th of September 1353.

Rienzi, transported within himself, and scarcely believing his own ears, threw himself at the feet of his holiness, and made the strongest protestations of eternal gratitude. He received absolution, was lodged in an apartment of the pontifical palace, and treated with great marks of distinction. The pope often did him the honour of conferring with him upon the measures to be taken to drive Baroncelli from Rome, and the insights he could give cardinal d'Albornos in the war which he was going to undertake against the usurpers. As Rienzi perfectly understood the affairs of Italy, it was in his power greatly to assist the cardinal. He took him with him from Avignon, and assigned him an honourable revenue upon the republic of Perusa. Rienzi, well equipped, began to resume his air in his former fortune. He behaved very gallantly in the wars raised to restore the patrimony, especially at the siege of Viterbo, where he highly distinguished himself. But as he had an object more grand than the vain honour of being in the retinue of the legate, to assist him with his advice, the times which passed in these military expeditions seemed to him most tiresome, and he longed for his re-establishment at Rome. He frequently pressed the cardinal to conduct him thither according to the pope's orders, at least to furnish

him with money sufficient to enable him to return in a manner worthy the high dignity of a senator. D'Albornos on his side, being not so much prepossessed in his favour as the pope was, always put him off, sometimes under one pretence, sometimes another. That prelate, a man of fine judgment and great penetration, found in Rienzi spirit, fire, boldness and eloquence; but the more he studied his character, the less solid grounds he discovered in him to build upon. High talking, fine promises, and vain-glorious projects, confirmed the legate in the idea he had formed of this personage, as an adventurer less advantageous than dangerous. Upon this idea, he moved the more slowly to establish him, as he reckoned the violent measures of Baroncelli would soon compass his destruction; if not, it would be indeed necessary to make use of the tyrant, who had set him the example. The legate was not mistaken in his conjectures. The new troubles, which ensued at Rome upon account of the cruelties of Baroncelli, confirmed them. Scarcely had that new tyrant laid the foundation of his authority, but he gave himself up to all manner of debauchery and barbarity. He bended no longer his knees, he promoted masquerades, ridottos, and midnight assemblies, the sure preludes of approaching ruin. His two sons exceeded in violence their father; they debauched and ravished without distinction the women who unhappily fell in their way. The

tyrant, solely employed in enriching himself by the shortest ways, shut his eyes to all the rest. He became so covetous and cruel, none dared resist him. He beheaded many nobles and persons of distinction; among the rest his most intimate confidant, Thomas Monte-Rochio, upon mere suspicion. He imprisoned Francis and Poncel Ursini, under pretence of their having hired a ruffian to assassinate him. He was preparing to embrue his hands still farther in blood, when heaven was pleased to deliver Rome from so terrible a scourge. Although he dreaded the vicinity of cardinal d'Albornos and Rienzi, he flattered himself he should gain the victory over them, and be able to attack the sovereign pontiff. He built upon the chimeras with which he had fed the people, and upon the powerful succours he expected from the Gibelines in Italy, and even from the emperor himself; but neither his great promises of the restoration of liberty, nor his profuseness in regard to the Romans, nor the plenty he had procured the city, could extenuate the horror of his tyrannies. Excommunicated by the pope, and given up as a rebel for public vengeance, detested by the whole world, he perceived his approaching downfal; and after causing his wife and children to escape in religious habits with most of his jewels, as he was disposing himself to retire secretly, he was massacred in the very same place where he had caused so much blood to be spilt, about the middle of December,

1353, somewhat less than four months after his elevation.

The death of Baroncelli was the most grievous disappointment that could have happened to Rienzi, as it rendered him hereafter the less necessary. The legate also, who was never very desirous of re-instating him at Rome, was still the less so upon this incident: he entirely laid aside all thoughts of it, when he beheld the Romans, after they had got rid of Baroncelli, sending to him their submissions. Those fickle people, incapable of remaining long in one situation, and passing alternately from obedience to revolt, and from revolt to obedience, sent deputies to the legate to throw themselves under his protection, and obtain pardon from the holy see. The legate received them very favourably, and promised them the pope's protection, upon condition of their leaguing themselves with him against John de Vic: which they accepted of, not so much out of zeal for the church, as hatred to that governor. In the month of May following, in the year 1354, they sent a body of ten thousand men to join the army of the legate, which then lay before Viterbo. Rienzi, finding himself in the condition we have related, turned all his thoughts upon the means (but to no purpose) of re-establishing himself at Rome, without the assistance of the legate, upon whom he could no longer depend. The marks of zeal and devotion, which the Romans showed him at the siege of Viterbo,

awakened his hopes. Their army, in fact, looked upon him as a man whom Heaven had protected and delivered from a thousand dangers, to be a second time the restorer of their glory and happiness: they flocked in crowds to visit him, with such testimonies of joy as surprised the legate, and let him see the influence this extraordinary genius had over their hearts. Rienzi on his side received them with gratitude, and sometimes with an air of superiority that called to remembrance his former grandeur. He spent his time in relating to them his adventures since his banishment from Rome, which he no ways imputed to the people, but entirely to the jealousy of the nobles, who at that time tyrannised. He acquainted them with the reception he met with from the king of Hungary; the honours he received from the emperor at Prague; the reasons that prince had given to divert his design of going to Avignon; the resolution he took to justify himself before the pope; the obstacles he met with at that court; the force of his innocence, which obliged the judges rather to keep him in unjust captivity than pronounce sentence against him; and the equity of Innocent VI., who being better acquainted with his case, had taken him out of prison as another Joseph, to return to Rome in quality of senator: he added that he well knew the reasons cardinal d'Albornos had, to delay thus the execution of his holiness's orders, that he should one day be restored; that deep reflection, and reading the

Roman historians had given him some insights, and inspired him with the most sublime ideas of the grandeur of the Roman people; that, as to the rest, his sole ambition was to restore to his dear country that superiority and that empire, which it once had over the whole world, and to spare nothing in his power thereto at the hazard of his repose and of his life.

In blending thus truth with falsehood, with that artful eloquence he was master of, he enchanted the Roman militia, and brought over more than ever to his party. When they were upon the point of returning, the most considerable of the army went to take leave of him, and entreat him not to delay his return to Rome, assuring him that as soon as he made his appearance, he should be received as a deliverer descended from Heaven. "Return," said they, "to your dear Rome; hasten to release her from the miserable condition she is in; do this, O sovereign; we will assist you, and believe you have never yet been so longed for and beloved as you are at present."

Rienzi wanted more effectual succours than words; their hearts were open, but their pockets were shut: the poverty of the Romans could not admit of granting the sums his exigencies required. The legate on his side would advance nothing, excusing himself upon the vast expense of his army, which consumed all he could take from the revenues of the holy see;

besides, Rienzi had draughts upon Perusa sufficient for his honourable subsistence as a warrior, though not for his re-establishment as a senator. In the frequent journeys he had made to Perusa, and which he repeated often for about eight months, he harangued the chiefs of that petty republic to engage them to grant him some aid. He made pompous recitals of his former grandeur, and of their league with him and the Romans, in favour of the good establishment; of the brilliant embassy they sent him; of the wonders their ambassadors were eye-witnesses of; of the majesty with which he executed justice to the people of Italy and to crowned heads; and of the singular preference he had given to Perusa. He expatiated on the advantages that must accrue to them from his alliance, if they would grant him succours sufficient to re-instate him in his dignity of tribune at this juncture, and that nothing could be more glorious or beneficial for them than to procure his re-establishment.

His insinuating speeches were heard with pleasure, but the only fruit they produced was a barren admiration, or a trifling excuse, upon account of the critical juncture of time, and the vicinity of the armies, which obliged the Perusians to be frugal of their finances and to be upon their guard. In short, notwithstanding the good will of some particulars, as well at Rome as Perusa, the result of their consultations came to nothing, and they all began

despair of Rienzi, when a lucky accident fell out at a time he least expected it.

There were at that time at Perusa, two gentlemen of Provence, fixed by the credit of one of their brothers, a very powerful man in Italy, and to whom the Perusians had presented the freedom of that city. This last, who was named Montreal, and a knight of Rhodes, was become a tyrant of a particular stamp. The king of Hungary brought him with him into Italy at the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and made him governor of Aversa. After the return of that prince to his own dominions, Montreal took advantage of the troubles in the kingdom to plunder the country with impunity. But when Lewis, of Taranto, king of Naples, returned to his kingdom, after summoning him several times to no purpose, he sent Malatesta de Rimini, whom he made his lieutenant-general, against him. Montreal, after a long blockade, was obliged to surrender, upon condition of withdrawing himself alone, and saving the lives of the garrison. Out of the immense riches he had amassed by his plunders, they permitted him to carry away no more than one thousand florins.

The chevalier, bereaved thus of his treasure, and enraged against the king of Naples and Malatesta formed a scheme, as singular as it was bold, to revenge himself on them, and acquire new riches. Italy at that time was infested with soldiers, who had

deserted, and lived entirely by plunder and theft. The were chiefly composed of the remainder of the army which the king of Hungary had brought for his conquest, and who were disbanded upon his leaving the kingdom. They were Germans, French, and Italians, all vagabonds, but good soldiers, and wanted only a commander. Montreal determined to gather them together, and take them into his pay, resolving to change his knot of public robbers into regular troops, and, with them, distinguish himself by plunders more eminent, at the expense of one part of Italy. For this purpose, he sent billets into Tuscany, Rome, &c. that all gentlemen soldiers, either horse or foot, who were willing to enter into his service, and fight under his banner, should have good pay and provisions. These billets had such an effect, that in a very short time he found himself at the head of three thousand five hundred men, all disciplined and resolute. Such was the origin of these formidable bands, who becoming independent of any other power than that of the commanders they had chosen, made afterwards such terrible havoc in Italy, Provence, and several other provinces in France.

The first use Montreal made of his little army, was to bring them against his enemy, Malatesta, who had a long time besieged Fermo. This place was at the last extremity, and upon the point of being taken by the tyrant Megliano, when it was relieved by Ordelaffi, tyrant of Forli, who surrendered it to

Montreal, rather out of hatred to Malatesta than love to the inhabitants of Fermo. This success brought his band into great reputation, and it increased daily. After putting Malatesta to flight, he sent them out to plunder; they took the castles of Mondolph, Frata, and San-Vito, besides a number of towns and villages. They took Feltrano by storm, where they committed horrid barbarities. The terror of their name made Montesano and Montefiora surrender. They went to Ancona, and took Falconara, and eight castles in one day. The name of Montreal, and the prodigious slaughter he made, drew such a number of soldiers, that they flocked to his standard from all parts of Italy, offering their service without any other pay than their shares in the plunder they should make. Many persons of the first quality joined him, and although their birth was superior to his, they all acknowledged him general of the army, which was soon after called the Grand Band of Montreal. They swore eternal obedience to him, without making any other general whatever. They chose four of the principal men among them to assist him as secretaries in the despatch of business, and the operations of war. They were now above twenty thousand strong, exclusive of the women who followed the army. The discipline which the general established, made it appear a kind of an itinerant republic, where every one was busy in advancing the public weal.

They raised contributions almost over all Italy. Malatesta beholding their outrages, without any of the petty tyrants endeavouring to suppress them, strove to engage the republics of Florence, Sienna, and Perusa to join him, and oppose the common enemy. He went in person to solicit them, and domonstrated to them the dangers this torrent of desolation threatened; and assured them, if they would supply him with men and money, he would stop the inundation, and deliver Italy from this new monster. His arguments could not prevail. Perusa would advance nothing, unless Florence declared; Sienna was the same. Florence made some advances, but was retarded by Perusa and Sienna upon some frivolous excuses. Malatesta, destitute thus of succour, and obliged to surrender to Montreal, who had already taken from him forty-four forts, judged it his interest to compound with him, by paying forty thousand florins in gold, of which he would give one moiety down, and his son as a pledge for the other, upon condition that the grand band should not molest him for such a time. It cost Florence twenty-five thousand florins for neglecting the advice of Malatesta. Pisa, Sienna, Perusa, were all compelled to enter into composition with Montreal, and pay him some more, some less. The tyrants of Forli and Fermo were sentenced thirty thousand each; they taxed the king of Naples himself forty thousand, which he promised to pay at a time limited.

In a word, the band became so formidable, that the archbishop of Milan on one side, the contrary league on the other, and the prefect De Vic himself, were obliged to bring over every one they could to their party. Montreal kept them all in suspense; but having raised contributions, he at length engaged with the party against the archbishop, and sent his army, under the command of count Lando, providing one hundred and fifty thousand florins for four months' subsistence. As to himself, he went to Perusa, with which city he made an accommodation, upon condition of being made free of it, in order to meditate new schemes of tyranny. It was in that city Rienzi met with the two brothers of Provence, by whose means he was in hopes of engaging their brother Montreal in his cause. How he effected it, and in what manner he afterwards rewarded his benefactors, will be presently related.

BOOK XII.

SINCE the chevalier Montreal bethought himself of forming his band, and making himself a partisan without title to raise contributions throughout Italy, he had amassed within a few months (that is to say, from November, 1353, to May, 1354) immense riches, sufficient to comfort him for those the king of Naples and Malatesta had taken from him. There were few considerable cities in Italy in which he had not money in bank. He had above sixty thousand florins among the bankers of Padua only. The charms of these riches made Rienzi long to obtain the friendship of so powerful a protector; but justly imagining that a man of his character, who rated his services at a high price, would not readily grant succours upon mere hopes, which he might, perhaps, look upon as chimeras, he determined not to make immediate application to him, but endeavour to insinuate himself into the good graces of his two brothers, the one named Arimbald, and the other Betrone, who were then busy at Perusa in making the best of the great

treasures, and depositing the vast sums, which their brother had acquired by his plunder. Arimbald was a man of letters, and, as such, susceptible of the charms which the learning of Rienzi displayed in his conversation. Rienzi made him frequent visits, and was always happy in pleasing. They often dined together. Rienzi at first affected to let his discourse roll on the power of the ancient Romans, whom he set off for examples of virtue, valour, prudence, and conquest. He spoke in so lively and pathetic a manner, that Arimbald was almost transported within himself. Rienzi could the better address him, as he was a young man of spirit, not experience, of an imagination adapted to receive chimeras as realities, especially those of an imagination strong as his own. Arimbald, infatuated with his discourse and his projects, was never tired with hearing them. He took such delight in him, that afterwards they had but one table, and one apartment; they were night and day inseparable. At length dazzled by the fine promises of Rienzi, who had given him his word to make him no less than his lieutenant-general, and render him more powerful than the chevalier Montreal himself, he determined to espouse his cause, and contribute to his re-establishment. Rienzi demanded three thousand florins of gold, to set up his equipage and raise soldiers. Arimbald promised him more, and took out of his coffers four thousand, which he put into his hands. But whether he dared

not to dispose of that sum without his brother's consent, to whom part of it belonged, as taken out of the common chest, or whether Rienzi himself persuaded him to give the chevalier advice of it, that he might endeavour to get more hereafter, Arimbald wrote his brother a letter, wherein, with an air of confidence, he told him, "I have got more in one day, than you in your whole life: I am master of the sovereignty of Rome; I maintain the famous Nicholas Rienzi, chevalier and tribune of Rome, whom all the people demand with loud voice: I believe I shall not be mistaken in my schemes, and I flatter myself that you will not disapprove of them. For the rest, as money is requisite to begin with an undertaking of such importance, I have made bold to take out of the common chest four thousand florins: I am raising soldiers, wait for your answer, and am, &c."

Rienzi judged right, when he imagined Montreal would not have so good an opinion of this enterprise as his brother. Yet he built so much upon success, that he hoped by this confidence one day to bring him over to his interests. His answer to Arimbald was to this effect: "I have maturely weighed your scheme; it is so vastly extensive, that to speak my mind freely, it appears to me superior to the power of your forces: I cannot apprehend you are able to execute it: act, however, as you think fit, but wisely and for the best, especially taking such measures as

may secure the four thousand florins from being lost. If you meet with any obstacle on the way, write to me, I will immediately fly to your assistance with a thousand or two thousand men. You and your brother may depend upon me; I would have you love each other, and let no one know of your design."

Arimbald, who waited with patience for Montreal's answer, no sooner received it than he flew with joy to impart the news to his friend; but he, before raising levies for his journey to Rome, was willing to pay the legate a visit to obtain his consent. The first use he made of the moneys he had received, was to set up a magnificent equipage, that he might appear as tribune august. The richest dresses were made for him, and he had a number of footmen, whose liveries answered his magnificence. He, mounted on a superb steed, followed by all his domestics, and accompanied by the two brothers of Provence, went to visit the cardinal legate at Montefiascone. This new pomp seemed to revive his former spirits. He entered the palace with the air of a man accustomed to authority, not forgetting, however, the politeness of a court. Accosting the legate, he told him that he had put himself in a decent condition, to come to receive his orders with the more dignity; that he beseeched him to proclaim him senator of Rome according to the intention of his holiness; and that he would go in that quality

to Rome to prepare the way for him, and assist to bring to the obedience of the sovereign pontiff, all those whom a spirit of sedition had misled.

Cardinal d'Albornos, who had received no orders contrary to the first, or who perhaps regarded little the execution of this project, thought he run no risk in agreeing to what in fact he was not able to refuse. He declared him senator of Rome and governor of the city, without granting him, however, succours either in men or money to enable him to take possession of his dignity.

Rienzi, who regarded the obtaining this consent as a masterly stroke of policy, returned, highly satisfied with the interview. As he had no necessity but for soldiers to conduct him to Rome, happily for him he found at that time at Perusa two hundred and fifty horse, which Malatesta had disbanded after his accommodation with Montreal. Rienzi sounded them by one of his friends, who made proposals to them to take them into his pay for two months. He told them they were going upon a glorious expedition to escort to Rome the lord Nicholas Rienzi, whom the pope had sent with the title of senator. This troop was composed chiefly of Germans. Their commanders having consulted each other upon the proposition, concluded at first not to come into it for three reasons: the first was the character of the Romans, whom they looked upon as a nation replete with pride, and ostentatious in their speeches, which

was really fact; the other two were the weakness of Rienzi, a man of mean birth, whose misfortunes could not promise them any hopes of recompense; and the hazard of such an enterprise, which must unavoidably irritate the Roman nobility. They all rejected it, except one of the troop, who stood up, and told them for his part he saw no difficulty for them in the affair. "Let us take," said he, "the money offered to us, and conduct the good senator to Rome; it will be to us a journey of interest and piety; afterwards, as things turn out, we may either remain or retire, just as we think fit." The sincerity of this advice overruled them. They treated with the emissary of Rienzi, who laid down upon the nail the pay agreed upon for one month. To this cavalry he joined two hundred foot, which he had enlisted in Tuscany, exclusive of the brave Perusians.

With this little body of an army raised in a hurry, Rienzi hastened his departure, marched through Tuscany, and traversed the mountains usually infested by those parties, who had scoured Italy, but he had the good fortune to arrive within sight of Rome without any molestation. As soon as the people heard he was approaching their joy was universal. They made preparations to receive him in all the pomp they used to receive their ancient conquerors. The Roman cavalry marched out to meet him, carrying olive-branches in their hands as emblems of victory and peace, the people ran in crowds without

the gates to escort him. They erected triumphal arches; they lined their streets with their finest tapestries; they strewed flowers; and the moment he appeared, the trumpets and other instruments sounded, frequently interrupted by the huzzas of the multitude.

Amidst this triumphal pomp, Rienzi was conducted to the capitol; at his arrival he made an harangue with greater energy than usual. He represented himself "as another Nebuchadnezzar, who was obliged to disappear seven years. But," added he, "by the visible protection of heaven, I come not as one banished, who cannot return without terror, but as a senator, established by the voice itself of the vicar of Jesus Christ; that that puissant voice, which had delivered him from an unjust captivity, and conferred upon him a lawful authority, was alone sufficient to atone for his incapacity; that as he promised to make use of the most effectual means to restore the Good Establishment, he had room to hope he should bring it to a happy issue." He made afterwards public acknowledgments to the two brothers, to whom he owed this happy restoration. He made them the standard-bearers of the republic, and girded the sword about a Perusian named Ceccho, on whom he conferred the honour of knighthood, and presented with a robe trimmed with gold. Ceccho, it seems, led the brigade which conducted Rienzi to Rome.

The next day he received the deputies of the neighbouring cities, who congratulated him upon his restoration. He made magnificent promises to them, and acquainted them with the grand projects he was meditating.

During all this triumph of Rienzi the nobles kept themselves in tranquillity, waiting the event. Some days passed in mirth and public rejoicings. The nobility had just suspicions of a new tyranny, as they beheld in the city nothing but detachments of the brigade, dazzling the people's eyes with vain splendour. The new senator, according to his custom, amused the Romans, whilst he sent couriers to all parts of Italy, to notify his restoration, and to invite them to assist him, in renewing the Good Establishment. As he founded the security of his authority upon the destruction of the nobles, and attributed to them the former flight; he resolved, a second time to make use of every artifice to crush them.

The grandees, at his arrival, for the most part retired to their estates in the country, to observe at a distance, and in safety, what turn this new government might take, as the first had too justly rendered them suspected. The foreign troops, which entered the city, and seemed to forebode a despotic and independent authority, gave them room to penetrate into the secret designs of the senator.

Four days had scarcely slipt away since the return

of Rienzi, before he issued out an order for all to come to Rome, and take the oath of allegiance. The pretence was the more specious, and the snare the better laid, as it was difficult for them to refuse without offending the pope, by whom the senator held his authority. As the house of Colonna was the most considerable, and whose ruin would easily bring forth the fall of the rest of the nobility, he thought it best to flatter young Stephen Colonna, who was become the chief of the family since the unfortunate death of his father and his kinsmen, who were killed at St. Laurence's Gate. He showed him particular marks of distinction. He sent two deputies, principal citizens of Rome, Buccio Jubileo, and John Casarello, with a commission to let him know, that all that was required of him was matter of form, only to set others an example; that if he would give the senator this mark of submission, he would on his side promise everything: but on the contrary, if he refused, he should be obliged to come against him, and bring matters to such an extremity, as might make him heartily repent.

Colonna had been too cruelly offended, and had himself too sensibly offended, to imagine there could be forgiveness on either side; he resolved, therefore, to shut himself up in his castle in Palestrina, and fortify himself against the enterprises of a man, whom he justly looked upon as the murderer of his kinsmen, and the sworn enemy of his house. He re-

ceived the deputies of the senator, as a sovereign, enraged to see a subject presume to treat with him; without vouchsafing them even an audience, he caused them to be thrown into a dungeon, ordered a tooth to be drawn from each of them, and fined them four hundred florins for having the impudence to bring such orders to a person of his rank. The next day he took the field with his garrison, and made an excursion to the very gates of Rome, where he took prisoner all that were without the gates.

The murmur which this first act of hostility excited in the city, obliged Rienzi to mount on horseback, and hasten to gather together the soldiers, some armed, and some without arms. He took the route of Palestrina, judging that Colonna would retire thither. But Colonna, foreseeing he would not fail to pursue him, ordered his forces to go aside into the forest of Pantano, between Tivoli and Palestrina, and there lay concealed till night, under favour of which they could conduct the men they had taken to the castle; which was executed accordingly. The senator, after ranging all day to no purpose, was surprised at night, and obliged to go to Tivoli, where the next morning he was informed of the manner in which his enemies escaped him. Ashamed of having been such a dupe, and reproaching himself for marching at random, he vented his resentment by imprecations against the Colonnas, whose ruin he

publicly vowed; and as the fortress of Palestrina was the magazine of their arms, and the centre of their power, he resolved to besiege it in form. The four days he remained at Tivoli, he employed in making preparations for the siege. Notwithstanding the decline of his former virtues, at this juncture he seemed to resume his wonted activity. The ardour with which he laboured, plainly showed he had at heart the enterprise he was meditating; he ordered from Rome immediately all his forces, both horse and foot. Arimbald and Bettrone, whom he had made his lieutenants-general, arrived at the head of the troops, carrying the old standard, which Rienzi had set up in Rome at the time of his first elevation But he rashly engaged in a war for which he wanted the necessary fund; he depended, perhaps, as usual, upon fortune; but soon found himself mistaken, and abused by her. The mutiny of the foreign troops, especially of the Germans, more untractable than the others, threw him at once into a dismal dilemma. They dissembled whilst they were at Rome; but finding themselves in the field, and independent, they declared to the senator, that for want of their pay they had been obliged to pawn their arms, and that, in one word, they would remain no longer in the service, unless they could be satisfied of their pay. In the want he had of troops, and in the indigence he found himself, he knew not what course to steer,

till necessity furnished him with an artifice in which he succeeded. He sent for the two lieutenants-general, Arimbald and Bettrone, to whom he imparted the straits he was driven to by the perverseness of the Germans, and the vexation he was in to see, by their fault, a conquest snatched from his hands which ought to have recompensed them both the favours with interest, which they had shown him. "I see," added he, "but one remedy left for this evil; and that is the Roman history, which furnishes me with one *apropos*. I remember to have read that the republic, once finding herself in a condition much like ours at present, that is to say, without money, and under a necessity of carrying on a war, the consul assembled the most dignified and richest of the Romans, and told them that it was their part, who held the highest offices in the republic, to set an example to others, by contributing voluntarily to the public welfare. His speech," continued he, "made such an impression upon them, that they cheerfully made assessments, and raised the sums required to pay the troops. Permit me then, in the same circumstances, to make the same proposition; it is more your own interests than mine. Begin, and I'll warrant that the good people of Rome, touched with seeing foreigners contribute so generously for them, will bring immense sums into our hands."

Although the speech was not very agreeable to

the two brothers, yet like gamesters, in hopes of winning, they resolved to hazard more. They brought to him a thousand florins in two purses. This money, distributed among the German cavalry, appeased their murmurs. Rienzi at Tivoli assembled the citizens in the market-place of St. Laurence, and made one of those harangues which had so often charmed the ears of the Romans. He told them, in the most pathetic terms, of the services he had done the republic while he was tribune; the inveterate enmity of the Colonnas to the good establishment; that he was obliged to quit his government at the time his grand designs were opening in favour of the Romans; that at length, after many years' exile, his holiness, by singular favour, as prejudiced as he had been against him, had created him senator, that he might restore to his country peace and plenty, and suppress the efforts of tyranny: "but alas," added he, "I am prevented by the opposition of one house, always fatal to the repose of Rome. Deliver me from this monster-born, and I will make you happy: it is owing to him you live in indigence, while your neighbours live in affluence and tranquillity; my design is to besiege Palestrina, and shake to atoms the rest of your old tyrants: join with me, brave friends; let us destroy the common enemy; let us take vengeance of past injuries; and let us secure for the future an unalterable repose, which our success shall yield us."

This harangue had all the effect he could wish for. The people of Tivoli not only agreed to follow him, but were so diligent that they spent but one night in their preparations. Rienzi, to give this ardour no time to cool, began the next day his march with these new forces, and went to encamp at Castiglione, the general rendezvous. He was stopped two days in waiting for the auxiliary troops he had demanded from several quarters. They came from Velletri, Farsa, and all the flat countries and mountains round about. When these forces were all assembled, the army marched towards Palestrina, and encamped one league from that place, at the village of St. Mary, to forage, according to custom, before they began the siege. Beside the infantry, composed of the irregulars of Tivoli and others, he had a body of one thousand horse, as well foreigners as Romans. His army was numerous enough to destroy Palestrina, but affection fell short of number. The foreigners were unwilling to serve against the Colonnas, and, unable to dispense with the march, although they had received their pay, resolved to carry on the war as slowly as possible. On the other hand, the Romans, whom the rest made the rule of their actions, paid not the same regard to the new senator they had done to the old tribune. When the camp was fixed at St. Mary's, every one studied how he should pass the time agreeably at

play or carousing, leaving the general all the burden of a war, which he had undertaken solely for his own interest. As he ceased not to employ himself more arduously, he reconnoitred himself the place, which to him seemed most difficult of access. It was a noble castle, strongly fortified and situated upon the top of a hill which commanded all the country round it. He could not bear the prospect, but searching some avenue weak enough for him to attack, he formed a thousand idle schemes of rage and revenge. He would sometimes cry out—"Behold that haughty and rebellious hill, which I must level." He was continually surveying the ramparts, whence the enemy seemed to brave his wrath and impotence. He saw cattle go in and out freely, while wagons loaded with provisions went in at another gate. He endeavoured to cut off all communication with the castle, but the Romans, little disposed to favour him, and brought over in part by the nobles, replied, the attempt seemed to them impracticable. The senator, deceived by those who approved of his design, tore like a madman to meet with such difficulties in its execution, and to behold so little good will among his troops. He vainly consumed his menaces against the Colonnas; and, calling too late to mind his error in not turning to better advantage the battle at the gates of St. Laurence, "Ah," said he, "if during the consternation my enemies then were in, I had suddenly fallen

upon Palestrina, I should not have seen myself in this extremity, and Rome had been free."

The next day he began to pillage, and as that caused no risk, and turned to the advantage of the army, they readily came into it. They continued their havoc for eight days: the flat countries were already ruined and laid waste. Rienzi found himself obliged to disband the irregular forces, and send back his army to Rome. The chief cause of this retreat was the division among the irregulars of Velletri and Tivoli, as their vicinity produced jealousies and fomented disputes; several of the chiefs deserted and retired to Palestrina; those that remained in the camp were every day upon the point of coming to blows with those of Tivoli; so that Rienzi, to prevent such dangerous dissensions, was obliged to separate his army at a time he had the most pressing reasons to keep it together at Rome. But before we unfold the reason, it may not be improper to trace back the change of the Romans, in regard to their tribune, to its origin, and the dissatisfaction that appeared in this expedition, and which afterward burst out more openly.

It might reasonably have been expected, that Rienzi would have profited by reflection in a long disgrace, and that a three years' imprisonment would have given him room to examine into his past conduct. Invested now with a lawful authority, conferred by the sovereign pontiff, and agreed to by

the people, he might have been supported by a firm and mild government without giving any advantage to the nobles, keeping them within the limits of respect and duty, if a boundless ambition had not inspired him with designs too great for him to execute. The errors of his second administration exceeded those of the first: adversity, far from suppressing his vices, added to them: his ambition, his cruelty, his avarice became more violent, and at the same time less circumspect and artful. During the course of his first administration, he knew how to curb his passions, at least to palliate them under pretence of the public welfare; but no sooner was he a second time established, than he forgot his misfortunes, and intoxicated himself with his prosperity: he kept so little guard upon his words, that in his very first harangue he let drop some expressions that tended to a tyrannic sway. The people perceived it, and the nobles made the best use of it to promote their own interests. Degenerated from that austerity of life, and from that sobriety which had cast such a splendour on him in the former days of his elevation, he now gave himself up to an excess of intemperance. The indecency of a vice so opposite to the customs of the Romans gave great offence: they no longer regarded the tribune, who had once been a model of temperance in a city which could scarcely at present see one virtue in him; since his re-establishment he grudged the small

time he spent in public business, and gave himself up entirely to feasting; morning, noon and night he tippled; his converse with the Hungarians and Germans taught him this vice, upon which to put some gloss, he pretended that his insatiable thirst was the effect of poison given to him in prison. He grew quite unwieldy; his face was bloated and his eyes changed their colour, sometimes inflamed and bloodshot; his beard was long and neglected; his whole air, in one word, was so inexpressibly barbarous and fierce, that it was impossible to look at him without horror. His debaucheries affected no less his mind than his body, which became inactive and incapable of application. His temper was exceedingly altered. Restlessness, inconstancy, caprice, were foibles that were born with him, but of which he had once made admirable advantage over a people equally as restless, inconstant, and capricious.

Such was the course of the second administration of that celebrated tribune, who flattered himself he should obtain universal monarchy. It must be confessed that, since his return, he had partly laid aside his chimeras; that he never rose up against the pope, his sovereign, as he had formerly done, and that he was in some things praiseworthy: but whether the black part of his character surpassed the white, whether the fickle humour of the Romans was at that time incapable of fixing a stability of government, or whether the former novelty, to which they

had even been idolaters, had lost its charms by the hopes of another, it is certain that this second administration was much less fortunate to them and to Rienzi than the former, as will be seen after we have shown the secret and pressing motive that obliged him to lay aside his expedition against Palestrina, and suddenly return to Rome.

BOOK XIII.

THE chevalier Montreal, understanding that the senator, far from endeavouring to reimburse the sums which he had advanced for his restoration, had borrowed some thousand florins more of his brothers, repaired to Rome during the expedition against Palestrina. He went accompanied with a small retinue, to solicit the payment with great haughtiness; and not considering that he was in a city wherein he could not express himself with the same freedom as at the head of his army, he let drop complaints and threats against the senator, intimating that the hand which raised could as easily overturn and ruin. At the same time he had the indiscretion to say, in the presence of his domestics, that Rienzi was a traitor whom he could not move either by reason, persuasion, or promises; and that he would slay him with his own hand. The arrival and discontent of Montreal came to the ears of the senator, who, justly imagining that this chief of the robbers, after having raised contributions over

Italy, was plotting against his authority and person, resolved to oppose him. He surprised Rome by his sudden return, but he kept it not long in suspense, and the treachery of a servant gave him room to publish the true motive of it. This woman, irritated at some ill usage she had received from her master Montreal, determined to revenge herself by the most cruel means. She went secretly to the senator, and approaching him all in tears, she pretended she knew not how to unfold too much or too little of an affair so delicate, as to affect equally the life of her master and that of the tribune; then, after a few artful fetches to excite the more his curiosity, she told him all she had heard the chevalier mention.

Rienzi, less astonished at the mystery she had unfolded, than rejoiced at having so fine an opportunity of destroying Montreal, upon whom he redoubled his vengeance, missed not his aim. As he knew that warrior capable of undertaking the most desperate enterprises, and saw himself continually attended by his two brothers, he was apprehensive of being ruined by the very men who had raised him. The obligation he lay under to them for his new fortune, was to him a burden the more insupportable, as he found himself in no condition to repay the favour, or those sums he stood indebted for. He was in great want of money to pay his troops and establish his authority; the aid he found at first to restore him failed for want of security; he had to no purpose

exhausted all his artifices, to engage the three brothers not only to be less pressing for their monies, but further to make new efforts to put him in a situation wherein he might show his gratitude with the more grandeur and dignity; but covetousness had a greater ascendancy over Montreal than any other consideration. Rienzi resolved to seize upon Montreal, and ordered him instantly to be brought before him. The chevalier, who knew not that he was betrayed, and had perhaps forgot the expressions which had slipped from him, presented himself without fear or suspicion. Rienzi caused him to be forthwith thrown into a dungeon and fettered. His two brothers were at the same time taken into custody, as accomplices in the pretended conspiracy, the news of which the senator took care should presently be published throughout the city.

Montreal, less a politician than a soldier, could not conceive by what fatal snare he had thus imprudently thrown himself into the hands of a man, too much offended to believe him innocent, and too vindictive to forgive him: he opened his eyes too late, and calling to mind all that an enraged woman had deposed against him, doubted not but he was entirely lost. He was ready to despair on reflecting that selfishness and avarice had cost him his life; yet as he knew Rienzi selfish and avaricious as himself, he was in hopes he should find out means to appease him, and extricate himself out of the abyss he

had unfortunately fallen into. He knew that the senator was in extreme want of money, and impatient to raise it at any interest whatever. Rienzi, indeed, although he was obliged to disband part of his forces, looked upon the expedition against Palestrina as laid aside only by the necessity of the times. Persuaded that he should never be secure as long as that place remained an asylum for the nobles and other male-contents, he was more determined than ever to risk all to destroy it. The difficulty was to find the money requisite, without laying new taxes upon the people, whose affections he was willing in these beginnings to obtain. On the other hand, the foreign troops murmured, and it was thought that, if he did not satisfy them, they would raise an insurrection, betray and deliver him up to the Colonnas, whose party greatly increased in the city. Montreal resolved to take advantage of the perplexing condition of the senator: he offered Rienzi, upon condition of setting him at liberty, to pay his forces, bring him fresh, and supply in general all his exigences, leaving his two brothers in his hands as hostages.

The offer was not mean, and Montreal relied so much upon the success of his negociation, that he already comforted his two brothers, telling them he would not have them be uneasy at remaining hostages for him; that he should make but a short stay, and bring with him twenty thousand florins for their ransom; and that he should at length calm the

madness of Rienzi, in giving him more men and money than his heart could wish for. But the chevalier's brothers knew better the bottom of the senator; they could not persuade themselves that he would sacrifice his vengeance to his avarice. They nevertheless conjured Montreal to spare no pains to deliver them as soon as possible from one so cruel. The chevalier soon found himself mistaken, and that his brothers knew better the character of the man than he. The very night Montreal was apprehended, while he was sleeping soundly upon the security of his offers, and the sacrifice of his treasures, he was awakened in surprise and dragged to the rack. As it was not customary to use men of fortune in that manner, the chevalier at the sight of the cords and the preparations for the torture, could not withhold his indignation: "Wretches," said he, flying at those who came to torture him, "from whence this insolence to insult a person of my rank?" Then giving them the strappado, and lifting himself from the ground: "Ah!" said he again, "am I no longer general of a powerful army? Must I see myself in this condition, after raising contributions throughout Tuscany, and making all Italy tremble?" This was a crime sufficient to complete his ruin. Rienzi well knew that his proceeding, in regard to Montreal, could not be disapproved of by the sovereign pontiff. It is uncertain what confession the chevalier made upon the rack;

he was, however, reconducted to prison, where, judging from the treatment he met with, there was little hope left of mercy, he desired a confessor, and spent the remainder of the night with a cordelier, that he might prepare himself to die like a Christian. He settled his affairs with great presence of mind, and, turning himself afterwards to his brothers, who melted into tears, "Comfort yourselves," said he; "I die resigned and content, and the more so that I die alone; you will not accompany me: I understand both men and things well: I know it is my life, not yours, the tyrant has in view; he will sacrifice me, and save you: happy is it for me, for the expiation of my offences, to die in the sacred place where the innocent blood of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul was spilt. It is you," continued he, addressing himself to Arimbald, "it is you have thrown me into this abyss of misery; but, far from reproaching you, I see you only to comfort you. I am a man as you are, and as such have been surprised, deceived and betrayed. Cease then your affliction, study only to learn mankind: your happiness depends upon your union: for bravery, honour and probity I leave you my example to follow. Show yourselves the worthy brothers of a man who had made Italy bend to him. I know my destiny, and as my intentions have been upright, I doubt not of mercy from the Almighty."

In such terms of affection and heroism he dis-

coursed with his brothers until the fatal day. He desired to hear high mass in the morning, and in token of penitence assisted with naked legs and arms. About nine of the clock the people were assembled at the sound of the capitol bell, and the prisoner was conducted to the Lion's Steps (the usual place where prisoners received sentence); he was clothed in a long robe of black velvet trimmed with gold; in his hands, which were tied, he carried a crucifix, and was assisted by three cordeliers. At his arrival he kneeled and turned his face towards St. Mary's church in the capitol: afterwards he arose and turned to the people: "Romans," said he, "how can you set your hands to the death of a man who never offended you? But I perceive plainly your poverty and my affluence of fortune to be the cause. As it is the will of Heaven, I am content to die where St. Peter and St. Paul died. But that perfidious tyrant," added he, meaning Rienzi, "will not reap by my death the advantages he has promised himself: it will be fatal to him."

While they were pronouncing sentence upon him, he chanced to overhear among the people the word gibbet, which threw him into a violent passion, believing he actually was condemned to that ignominious death; but they that stood nearest him informed him that he was to be beheaded. This assurance calmed him, and he heard the remainder of the sentence with tranquillity. Afterwards, assuming

a countenance more fierce than steady, "Alas!" said he, "what am I, and what have I been? I have seen myself at the head of a multitude ten times more numerous than (pointing to the Romans) this I now see." However resigned he outwardly appeared to his fate, the natural horror of a death, so widely different from that he had often stared in the face in the field of battle, shocked him. During his sentence he was continually turning himself from the right to the left, and from the left to the right, protesting to the people his innocence, and repeating what he had before said, "that their poverty and the affluence of his fortune was the real cause of his catastrophe. I was come," added he, "to relieve your country; I had great designs for the glory of Rome; behold them all perish with me.—Ah! must I die?" But recovering himself on a sudden, and giving place to sentiments more noble and Christian-like, he kissed the crucifix which he held in his hands.

In these cruel alternations of transport and steadiness he arrived at the place appointed for his execution. He fell on his knees in the midst of a great ring of soldiers and people who surrounded him. He turned to the east, and recommended himself to God; then arising before the stake, he kissed it, praying God to protect justice. He made a sign of the cross upon the place on which he was to lay his head, and, having kissed it again, he pulled off his

cap, which he threw aside, and placed himself in the manner designed for him. The axe, which was to cut off his head, was fastened to one end of the stake. As soon as he perceived the executioner going to examine the joints, he cried out that he must not do it where he thought fit; upon which his surgeon came up, and gave the executioner directions where to strike the fatal blow, who, in a moment taking up the axe, separated his head from his body. The cordeliers who assisted, immediately took away the body, and with red silk sewed the head to it; after which they put it into a coffin, and conveyed it to St. Mary d'Ara Celi, where they buried him.

Thus died this great man, who had gained in Italy so great renown for his prudence and valour. It is true he turned his great talents into violence by his plunders; his covetousness was a snare to him; for the rest he had a great and noble soul, an excellent genius in the art of war, and a singular talent in attracting the love and esteem of his soldiers. Heaven made use of him to punish the Italians, and he was punished by Rienzi, who deserved a thousand times more the punishment.

It was doubtless surprising that the senator did not accept of Montreal's offers in the extreme want he was in both of men and money; but besides imagining he should get more by his death than he had offered, he was too politic to set at liberty a man

whom he had so cruelly treated. He rightly apprehended, that a commander of his credit among his troops, after he had paid his ransom, would not fail of coming to revenge himself at the head of that terrible band. The senator had much less to fear from that hydra, after he had cut off the principal heads. He persuaded himself he had at the same time rendered Italy great service in delivering it from a monster, whose least motions made dismal havoc. The army of Montreal, deprived of their commander, became a body without a soul. These considerations made Rienzi blind to the brightness of gold, deaf and inexorable to the petitions of his benefactor, and forgetful of all favours bestowed. But refined as this policy appeared, it answered not his expectations; the death of the chevalier was of more prejudice than advantage to him. If Montreal's catastrophe was pleasing to the little states he had unmercifully pillaged, it was lamented by the Romans, who had received no injuries from him. Rienzi thought to prevent the ill consequences of this step, by the artifices he made use of in drawing up the sentence, which declared Montreal deserving death, as being captain of a band of public robbers, as a scourge that had afflicted Tuscany, Florence, and Sienna; as a man guilty of numberless murders, outrages, conflagrations, and all the horrors of an unjust and barbarous war. But this had no effect upon men of penetration, and those whose hearts

were alienated; even those who had the least cause to regret the chevalier, forgot or extenuated his crimes, and exclaimed against the execrable perfidy and ingratitude of Rienzi, who made use of the power he held from him and his brothers to oppress them. As for those who were attached to the interests of Montreal, their grief was conspicuous in the person of one of his officers. He was then at Tivoli, and hearing of the misfortune of his commander, that he was imprisoned, racked, sentenced, and executed in less than thirty hours, he fell down dead upon the spot.

Rienzi, who had taken possession of all he could recover of Montreal's effects at Rome, gave himself no great concern at what one or the other thought of the execution without; but within the opinions of the people alarmed him. He saw with grief that the courage, the affability, and the Christian-like behaviour at the hour of death of the chevalier, had caused even those who hated him in his prosperity, to lament his misfortunes and sincerely pity him. He perceived this clamour producing indignation against his administration; and he well knew that the Colonnas would lay hold of the opportunity of rendering him odious to the Romans, for his eagerness to possess himself of his effects at his death. He was assured their partisans would insinuate, that there was no security for the nobility or the commonalty with a traitor, who had sacrificed to his

avarice the man to whom, above all the world, he owed the highest obligations.

The senator, dreading the consequences of this alienation of their minds, and their secret murmurs, thought to appease the people with one of those harangues which had always hitherto succeeded. He assembled them at the capitol, and disguising with artifice what his actions rendered odious, — "Romans," said he, "what cause have you to lament thus the death of the basest of men? Will you, by an untimely compassion, authorise the temerity of every one who shall make a merit of pillaging and overthrowing your country? Know you not that the traitor whom thus you grieve for, plundered, ransacked, and burnt a number of castles and cities; that he massacred all who fell into his hands without distinction of age or sex; and that before his death he kept above two thousand women in slavery? Are you credulous enough to believe the speech he had the insolence to make to you? No doubt you believe he came to Rome to advance your glory and power? Know you so little of this tyrant? Jealous of the good establishment, he came to destroy it; amidst your broils he formed the execrable scheme of establishing universal tyranny; but the Lord, who permits scourges merely to chastise children for the offences of their parents, suffered him to fall into the snare we had laid for him. The traitor is now no more, and we are living; not only free from the

dread of his dangerous intrigues, but in possession of his arms, his horses, and his treasures destined for our ruin, and which we will employ for our preservation."

This discourse, which wanted not some grounds of reason, soothed their minds, and for a while suspended their murmurs; insomuch that Rienzi, plucking up his spirits, began to renew his preparations for the expedition against Palestrina. But Montreal's affair was of too great importance to pass unregarded by the pope and his legate. The latter, informed of this proceeding, sent the senator an express order to deliver into his hands Arimbald, the elder of the two brothers of Provence. Rienzi detained them in prison not so much upon account of any crime they had committed, as the apprehension he was under that their too recent grief for the death of their brother might carry them to some extremity, which he must be obliged to punish for justice, or suffer out of necessity. He obeyed without hesitation, more out of regard to the holy see, with whom he was unwilling to embroil himself, than for the legate D'Albornos. He knew that by this step he should give no offence, but, on the contrary, should not fail of approbation in thus purging Italy of such an enemy as Montreal. He sent away Arimbald, but retained his brother Bettrone, as the legate required no more than one in his power.

Exclusive of the money Montreal brought to Rome and placed among the bankers, he had considerable sums in several cities of Italy; out of one hundred thousand florins which he had at Rome, Rienzi could not get one moiety. John de Castello had the cunning to convert to his own use great part. It appeared that the senator, to supply the necessities of the good establishment, of which he was ever mindful, longed to seize upon all the effects of Montreal, and that he had succeeded by means of Arimbald, who knew his brother's secrets, and had redeemed his liberty at the expense of his treasures, but that cardinal D'Albornos, whose sentiments were as noble as equitable, esteemed it not just to profit by the injustice of Montreal, and by the blood of so many unfortunate men whom he had exhausted. He was attentive to their cries, and preferred a generous compassion to the most brilliant advantage. The difficulty lay in knowing where the sums were deposited; no one could give a better insight than Arimbald, whom his brother charged with the management of his affairs. It was to get this hint that the legate made court to him. Understanding that part of the money was deposited in some provinces of Italy, he seized upon it in the name of the pope, as ill-gotten goods, and declared that he would as soon as possible distribute it among the unhappy creatures Montreal had reduced to want. The pope, naturally generous and disinterested, came

so entirely into the designs of the legate, that he sent a particular order to Raymond abbot of St. Nicholas, at that time his nuncio at Venice, to draw from the bankers of Padua sixty thousand florins which were consigned them by Montreal, and enjoined him to employ that sum in relieving those whom Montreal's excursions had ruined.

By this step Rienzi was disappointed of the aid he had promised himself. As to the effects of the sufferer, which he confiscated at Rome, he made use of them in paying his forces, who were exceedingly turbulent and mutinous. To secure himself from the same distress for the future, and compass the great scheme he had always at heart, the ruin of the house of Colonna, he took a method different from that he had made use of in his former expedition. The temerity with which he undertook it, the necessity of employing foreign troops, and the volunteers who were hourly thwarting his purposes, the want he was in of money to supply his urgent necessities, exposed his intentions to the raillery of the public, and caused him to be looked upon as a man of little experience in war; but he concerted this second attempt with all the art and ability of the most politic sovereign.

He began with declaring, that he would keep in his pay no other soldiers than those who, by an unalterable zeal and an unshaken fidelity, had testified their attachment to his interests. He disbanded all

upon their parole, and permitted them to retire if they thought fit. He made choice of the prime only of those who were willing to remain with him, and dismissed the rest; by which means he formed a little choice body upon whom he could depend, and whose cavalry consisted of three hundred men, all fit for action, and capable alone to make all the little Italian cities tremble. This first care was the fruit of the reflections he had made on the ill success of his former expedition.

As he reconnoitred by himself the castle of Palestrina, he perceived it fortified by art and nature, garrisoned by troops who were determined to defend it to the last extremity, and commanded by the renowned Colonnas, whose only asylum it was; it was difficult therefore to besiege it in form. On the other hand, he apprehended that a long blockade would inevitably occasion his absence from Rome, during which he knew cabals would be held, which would oblige kim to bring back his troops to Rome, where the Colonnas had already too many secret abettors. He determined to keep himself close shut up in the capitol to settle the operations both within and without.

He drew up a plan, which redounded much to his honour. Instead of keeping his forces together in one body, as before, he divided them into several detachments, and appointed the little towns about the castle of Palestrina their magazines of arms, such

as Frescati, Castiglione and Tivoli. Every one of these detachments was to harass the enemy by their excursions, and possess themselves of all the avenues, that no provisions or succours should be carried in to the besieged. This was the most effectual method he could take to starve the Colonnas, or compel them to surrender. His plan settled, he resolved to nominate an experienced general; his judgment appeared in the choice he made of Liccard de Hannibalis, surnamed for his glorious actions the Bold. To him the senator communicated his plan, concerted with him each day's attacks, according to the situation of the places, and fixed upon the number of couriers who should go and come with intelligence. Having exhorted him to signalise his zeal for his country, maintain his high reputation, and repay the confidence which he had at this critical juncture reposed in him, he ordered him to march about the beginning of September with all the troops, except a very few he kept for the security of the city of Rome.

After the departure of the army, the senator applied himself solely to the operations of this war, as the soul and primum mobile of it. He was continually sending away and receiving despatches upon despatches, to alter his orders according to the exigency of affairs, and examine the secret advices of his spies, who were of infinite advantage to him. He was served with such fidelity, that he knew better what passed in the army than many officers who

commanded in it. In his instructions were seen a sagacity and ability worthy of those great princes who commanded their armies in the cabinet. The reputation and esteem of the people, which he began to regain, increased considerably upon the repeated informations of his good success, which was entirely owing to his own indefatigable application, and the experienced valour of Liccard de Hannibalis. Liccard locked up the besieged so closely, that they durst not appear, nor make those desperate sallies they before had done. Pursuant to the repeated orders of the senator, all the avenues were so strictly guarded, that no manner of succours could be thrown in to them. The Colonnas wasted by inches; they found no refuge to prevent their approaching ruin. They beheld at the head of the enemy a general well versed in the art of war, who perfectly knew the country, and who could readily take advantage of a decisive moment, and the least error of his adversaries. The general had indeed won the affections of his whole army; they obeyed him more out of inclination than respect to his post. The foreign troops themselves, especially the Germans, who in the former expedition were most untractable, endeavoured to outvie the Italians in zeal and attachment to their general. They declared aloud that they had never served under one more brave or worthy of command. This happy harmony in the army greatly hastened the siege, which would soon have

been ended, if Liccard could have reinforced himself, and conveyed his experience to the officers who commanded at it. He never failed one day to gain some advantage, the news of which at Rome added great weight to the authority of Rienzi. In the midst of this success, to heighten his joy, he received from pope Innocent a brief, dated August 30, 1354, which confirmed him in his office and dignity of senator, and which was couched in terms full of truly paternal affection. This piece seems to deserve the curiosity of the reader, and is as follows:—

"Innocent VI. sovereign pontiff, to our noble and dear son Nicholas Rienzi, chevalier and senator of Rome.

"If you will seriously reflect, dear son (as you cannot fail to do without ingratitude), upon your past and present condition, you will find you have just reason more and more to devote yourself to God your creator, to return him your most sincere thanks for all he has vouchsafed in your favour. 'It is to him you owe your happy talents; it was he who took you from obscurity, and set you at the head of the most distinguished by birth; it was he, who, beholding you intoxicated with your elevation, forgetting yourself, and presumptuously committing the grossest errors; it was he, I say, who condescended to (what you ought most seriously to consider) chastise you with his paternal hand, and suffer you a

long time to feel the rod of affliction, yet after all preserve you from death, and, contrary to all hope, and the wishes of many, restore you to your former grandeur. These considerations, and a number of others which you may call to mind, ought always to dwell upon your mind, and make you fear God, honour the church, have respect to your superiors, affability to your equals, tenderness for your subjects, charity for the widows and orphans; rendering justice strictly to one and the other without any respect of persons. God preserve you from any reproach on this account. Let the proud, the rebellious, the wicked feel the weight of your rigour and severity; nevertheless let them partake of your mercy. You are established to maintain justice, maintain it by a just administration; if you defend it, it will defend you, and preserve you from the wiles of your enemies. To conclude, rest assured you will obtain, if you implore the Almighty, the benefits granted to St. Augustin, 'to know him and to know yourself. Done at Avignon, August 30, the second year of our pontificate."

This obliging and tender letter of his holiness was followed by a positive order to cardinal d'Albornos, to confirm publicly Rienzi in his office of senator. The second brief was dated September 9, of the same year 1354, in which the senator founded his hope of being settled for life in his new authority.

BOOK XIV.

EVERY thing seemed to concur with the senator's wishes, and promised him an administration as peaceable as lasting. His alteration in his conduct, his application to business, his disinterestedness during the course of the war, and the confirmation which the pope had sent, all appeared to presage a happy reign. His only difficulty lay in finding out ways and means to raise supplies to maintain his forces, who were a great expense, at a time the Romans were in great poverty. Although the confiscated effects of Montreal were applied to the payment of his debts, and the forming a choice army, that transient aid was not sufficient for the execution of his designs. He found himself under a necessity of having recourse to taxes, as a more ready and permanent resort. He laid a duty upon wine and upon salt, under the name of subsidies. These imposts, moderate as they were, not amounting to above sixpence upon wine, and in proportion upon salt, produced a considerable revenue. The people, although apt to startle at the name of

imposts, cheerfully paid them, persuaded by the discourse and example of the senator, that exigencies of state required them. Rienzi actually began to set an example. He retrenched his table, he lessened the number of his retinue, and lived in the most frugal and saving manner, contrary to his custom and inclination. He kept his family in as much order and regularity as a private gentleman. He amassed not to himself, as heretofore, the public treasures, but applied them with the greatest economy to the welfare of the republic.

A conduct so judicious and moderate sheltered him not, however, from the destiny that threatened him. His jealousies, his suspicions, his violences which followed, made his virtues forgotten and his vices remembered. In a short time he became as odious to the Romans as he had been dear to them. There was at Rome a man respected by the whole world, and in high reputation for his singular virtue and probity. He had the true character of an old Roman; incapable of a base action, of an integrity attested by all, and of an irreproachable life: he was named Pandolf de Pandolfucci. The senator made him his confidant; but the fruit of the dangerous friendship he contracted with Rienzi, was, as usual, mistrust and jealousy. He dreaded a reputation founded upon virtue, therefore sacrificed his friend to his caprice, and caused him to be beheaded without cause or compassion. This cruel action filled the minds

of the people with so much horror, that they looked upon him as a monster, who regarded neither innocence, virtue, nor friendship; and notwithstanding the terror of Rienzi's name, and the impression of hatred which always attends tyranny, prevented their murmurs breaking out openly, their universal indignation manifested itself in the gloomy and melancholy air that was visible in every countenance.

The senator, who perceived it, became only the more cruel. His jealousies produced only fresh murders. In the continual dread he was in, that the general discontent would terminate in some secret attempt upon his person, he determined to intimidate the most enterprising, by sacrificing sometimes one, sometimes another, and chiefly those whose riches rendered them the more guilty in his eyes. Numbers were sent every day to the capitol prison. Happy were those who could get off with the confiscation of their estates.

Nevertheless, all these violences removed not the tyrant's fears. Great as the terror was with which he struck the people, doubts, fears, and alarms perpetually tormented him. The inconstancy of his temper, and the appearance of his approaching fate, caused him sometimes to abandon himself to despair, and at others to resolve to face all dangers. The extravagancies natural to him became more extravagant, and carried him to indecencies which rendered him as contemptible as he was odious. He

would laugh and cry in the same moment without occasion. As he despised the whole world, the whole world despised him. The people, as much offended at these inconsistencies, unworthy of a senator, as wearied of his tyrannies, longed for the happiness of being delivered from the very man whom, a few years before, they esteemed a deliverer and a prophet. Their murmurs were, however, still kept secret. The seeds of sedition were sown in every breast, but none appeared openly. They knew not where to find a man bold and powerful enough for their leader. The guard of fifty men, which the senator had placed in every quarter, not so much for the sake of good order, as the security of his person, kept the most rash in awe. They themselves, it is true, were not well satisfied with Rienzi, who paid them very indifferently, as the army abroad exhausted all his finances. Yet he kept these troops to their duty by his fine speeches and promises of rewards worthy their attachment. Whatever disposition they might be in to revolt, the senator, judging himself in a condition of apprehending nothing from the Romans, pushed on so vigorously the war against the Colonnas, that he was upon the point of subduing them, with all the nobility, and fixing his authority upon an immoveable foundation, when he committed an error that proved the principal cause of his ruin.

Liccard de Hannibalis, whom he had set at the

head of his army, had done everything that could be expected from the experience and abilities of the greatest general. The affection of his soldiers, the progress of his operations, and the indefatigable pains he took in all his motions, attracted the admiration of the besieged themselves; and reduced them to the necessity either of surrendering, or of seeing themselves soon forced to do so, without some unexpected succour. The senator in the capitol had nothing to do but give his attention to the intelligence he received from his army; but his ill fortune prompted him to recal this experienced and faithful commander. It is uncertain whether the jealousy of the troop's attachment to Liccard gave Rienzi umbrage, or whether this step was merely the effect of his caprice; he dismissed him, however, and appointed in his room several commanders, who having neither his courage nor conduct, carried on the war in such a manner, that the besieged soon observed the change. Delivered from such an enemy as Liccard they plucked up fresh spirits, and the success of the Romans afterwards declined. Liccard, enraged at the ingratitude of a man whom he had served with such fidelity, retired discontented, and reducing himself to the post of a common officer; took his revenge upon Rienzi; a revenge common to great abilities despised, and which frequently costs the despiser dear.

The Colonnas and Savellis laid hold on the opportunity. Informed by their partisans of the situation of affairs at Rome, of the universal aversion to the senator, and the favourable disposition toward them, they resolved not to let slip so great an opportunity, but ruin the tyrant beyond redemption. They animated by their emissaries their friends to raise an insurrection. It was no sooner proposed but it commenced. The people waited only the signal of some adventurer bold as Rienzi once had been, to make the first motion. The conspiracy was carried on with such secrecy, that the senator, although he had spies in every corner, heard nothing of what was hatching against him, till the moment it burst out openly.

It was on the 8th of October, 1354, in the morning, when Rienzi in his bed was disturbed with the loud and repeated cries at a distance of "Long live the people." He could neither perceive the arms, nor the authors of the tumult; but the cries repeated again, as by echoes, seemed to sound as if they were near the capitol, where the mob gathered, and every moment increased, to know what was the cause of this emotion, of which they were entirely ignorant. The mystery was not long unfolding; the clamour was soon followed by a number of armed men, who appeared marching in platoons, and who were no sooner joined than they changed their note, and instead of "Long live the people," they cried out, "Let the tyrant perish." At that instant the people

finding a party formed against the senator joined with them. The young men presently took fire, and brought out a multitude of women, children, and old men, all enraged as much against Rienzi as the unknown ringleaders of the insurrection. The guards before mentioned declared against him, and those soldiers he retained for the security of his person appeared accomplices. The capitol was in a manner invested, they threw stones at the windows, and all cried out with one voice, "Let the traitor who laid excises perish! Let that traitor perish!"

The senator affrighted, instead of sounding the alarm, and putting himself in a posture of defence at the first cry of "Long live the people," thought to dispel the storm by shaking off the danger. He had not yet published the brief of September 9, which confirmed him in his office; his hopes cast anchor thereon, and with the mob he cried out, "Long live the people." He came out of his apartment, pronouncing these words, and affecting an air of serenity, which his countenance contradicted. "Yes," said he, "let the people live long! I say so from my heart. Alas! what interest have I but their preservation? It is to secure their lives and properties that I here remain, that I have set the army on foot, and that the sovereign pontiff has confirmed my authority by a bull, which shall immediately be imparted to the council."

But while he vainly endeavoured to hearten himself by such sort of discourse, the confused noise of the populace, who no longer cried, "Let the people live!" but "Let the traitor perish!" would not permit him long to dissemble; he presently found the capitol forsaken; judges, officers, soldiers, domestics, all flew at the first alarm: they were afraid of being themselves involved in his misfortunes; not above three persons remained in the capitol.

Roused from his lethargy, he perceived too late the danger he had brought on by immuring himself. He desired the advice of his three domestics: but all they could say tended rather to let him know the extremity he was driven to, than furnish him with the means of averting it: persuaded he should yet deceive the people with a show of resolution and intrepidity, he took leave of his three officers, telling them with an air full of confidence, "that it should not be long so with him, and that he would quickly dissipate the clouds that now hung over him," and immediately put on his armour.

Thus equipped, he went up into the great hall of the capitol, and going forward into the balcony, from whence he used to make his harangues, after stretching out his hands to the people, he begged the favour of being heard one moment, flattering himself that his persuasive eloquence would once more gain the ascendancy over them, and calm the tempest. He had doubtless succeeded, if the heads of the conspi-

racy, who knew the influence of his artful speeches, had not at that critical moment redoubled their clamours and their imprecations, which prevented his address, and reanimated the rage of the people, who made use of the arms they had provided, and threw a shower of stones and arrows into the balcony, one of which wounded the senator in the hand.

He was no ways dismayed at this violent outrage; wounded as he was, he took up the standard of the people, displayed it from the balcony, and showed the letters of gold and the arms of Rome to the mutineers: he endeavoured by that affecting pageant, and by the fire which sparkled in his eyes, and in his action, to open a way into their hearts; but he irritated them the more by that sight: they justly reproached him for not freeing them from the tyranny of the grandees, and oppressing them in his own administration with one infinitely worse. He made another effort to be heard: "Why," said he, raising his voice, "do you deny a favour never denied the greatest criminals? Am I not your fellow-citizen? Am I not one of the people as you are? Why are you thus obstinately bent upon my ruin? Romans, if you take away my life, you take away your own."

This speech, although accompanied with a behaviour capable of exciting pity, and repeated with all the energy of the most eloquent man of the age, made no impression upon the enraged populace, who

were resolved to wash their hands in his blood. He received no other answer than fresh cries, "Let the traitor perish," with fresh insults. Despairing of prevailing with them, he went in again from the balcony, and gave the people time to relent. Rienzi at the same time could not think himself secure in the hall: a terror succeeded his intrepidity. He imagined that Bettrone, brother of the chevalier Montreal, could easily escape out of the neighbouring chamber where he kept him confined. He had taken notice, that his prisoner, whose windows overlooked the place, made signs to the rebels to animate them: he apprehended that if in the tumult he found means to escape, he would stab him in revenge for the death of his brother, and for the injuries he had himself received. This childish fear demonstrates the weakness of the greatest of men. Rienzi, rather than pass by the door of Bettrone's prison, chose to drop from one of the hall windows, which he effected by tying together a parcel of linen: he dropped upon a sort of platform before the prison, where many of his prisoners were observing his dexterity, and praying for his fall and their freedom. Rienzi more attentive to his own security than the railleries of those unfortunate men, immediately laid hold of the keys of the prison, and set his mind at rest in regard to his enemies within, that he might think of nothing but securing himself, if possible, from those without.

Although the mutineers had set fire to the gates

of the capitol, he had no reason to despair. That very fire quickly procured him a new rampart, by causing a bridge of communication to fall down, over which they must pass to come to the inner place he was retired to. The day was far advanced, and the people, who are soon tired of bold enterprises, unless immediately executed, and ready always to pass from severity to compassion, had abandoned their party, and left the senator time to recover himself. Discord and confusion usually take place among a promiscuous mob: while they turned their arms from him against each other, Rienzi, as raising again his spirits, would have had an opportunity, either of saving himself from the hands of his enemies, or rendered himself master of the field of battle, at least have remained a quiet spectator of their outrages. But he had in his company a traitor, whom he no ways mistrusted, and by whom he was betrayed. This wretch was a kinsman of Rienzi's, named Locciolo Pelliccioro. He remained in the upper hall from whence he played a double trick: sometimes advancing himself in the balcony he gave the mutineers advice of all that passed in the palace, and by his looks and gestures let them understand the distress of Rienzi, the place he was in, and where they must make their attack. Sometimes returned from the window, from whence he pretended to inform the senator of all that passed without doors, he

began with encouraging him to play his part better; afterwards taking the advantage of his natural timidity, he gave him accounts and descriptions capable of throwing a man of more intrepidity into despair.

Rienzi, unfortunately abused by the perfidy of this traitor, abandoned himself to his ill fortune and to his fears which already presented themselves to him; the outworks of the capitol destroyed by flames; the Romans in arms before the place; in a word, a general confusion to which he was inevitably going to fall a victim. Sometimes he took off his headpiece, and seemed preparing to take off the rest of his armour, in order to find out some stratagem to shelter himself from the fury of his enemies: in a moment afterwards he put it on again, and by a fierce countenance appeared determined to sell his life at a high rate, and die at least like a man of courage sword in hand, with all the marks of his dignity. He continued a long time combating with these two thoughts, without daring to resolve himself, and determine between honour and the love of life; while his treacherous kinsman, pretending to encourage, but in fact intimidated him by affected grief and tears, laughed in his sleeve at his disorder. At length the danger appeared more imminent; already the second gate was all in flames; they heard the cracks of the beams on fire, and the burning planks which fell into the middle of the flames.

The pretended fears of Locciolo made Rienzi believe that all was lost, and that he was that moment going to perish.

The senator resolved at any rate to make his escape from the capitol, imagined that in running over the ruins the thickness of the smoke would favour his retreat; that after he had got without the walls he could easily mix himself with the crowd by the help of the disguise he had contrived. Upon this imagination he pulled off his armour, shaved himself, daubed his face with charcoal, put on a great coat which he found at his porter's lodge, covered his head and shoulders with a quilt and bed-covering, to make the mob believe he came to plunder; and advanced to the nearest gate, which was then on fire, leaving his fate to fortune, who had delivered him from a thousand dangers. Hitherto he had passed luckily by the favour of the ruins, and having descended the steps which lead to the second gate, he passed without receiving any damage from the fire, except a few bruises by the ruins which fell from all parts; every thing seemed to concur to his escape: mixing himself with those mutineers who were nearest, he advanced without being known, and altering his voice, he cried out as he passed, "Fall, fall upon the traitor; plunder my friends, it is right." He had now the last steps only to overcome and he was safe. All the attention of the people was fixed upon the windows of the capitol at which

he had appeared; and from the seeming impossibility of his making way through the ruins and rubbish, they were far from suspecting a retreat so bold and singular.

But either by chance or by his kinsman's treachery, a man having perceived Rienzi upon the steps, after looking very earnestly at him, took him by the arms, and held him fast. Unfortunately for the senator, the golden bracelets he used to wear upon his arms, and which he had imprudently neglected or forgot to take off, betrayed him in spite of his disguise: the people gathered together about him, and he was known. Losing at that time all hope, he lost entirely that presence of mind so requisite in extremities, and which till now had never totally forsaken him. He doubtless expected that in the heat and outrage of the conspirators, he should be cut to pieces on the spot; he was happily mistaken. The deep impression of respect for the old tribune, disfigured as he was, suspended suddenly their fury.

The ringleaders of the insurrection becoming thus appeased, took the senator by the arms, and made him go down without any molestation to the Lion's Steps, where he had pronounced so many sentences of death. There he was exposed to public show; posterity will scarce believe (what is however true), that he remained in that situation almost the space of an hour, bareheaded; his face blacked in a frightful manner; his arms across; covered with a pea-

sant's cloak, under which appeared a green silk waistcoat girt with a golden belt: a strange contrast, and capable of augmenting contempt and rage; yet not a mutineer lifted up a hand against him, or so much as insulted him with words. It is amazing that Rienzi, who had so often triumphed by his fine speeches, stood at this time speechless, and had neither power nor courage to open his lips in his own defence. He spoke only with his eyes, which he turned from right to left to see if any motion was making in his favour. The people on their side were equally as dumb and motionless, not daring to accuse or acquit him.

A considerable time was already spent in this strange perplexity; and the senator between life and death was waiting the fate which heaven should ordain for him, when one of the principal conspirators, named Cecco de lo Vecchio suddenly broke the charm and enchantment which the sight of their tribune's humble deportment had set upon the people in general. He imagined, that if he suffered the fury of the populace to abate much longer, Rienzi would not only escape, but punish those who had spared him. On a sudden he drew his sword, and without staying for the consent of the rest of the conspirators, he run him through the body. This first stroke was a signal that the charm was broken. The wrath of the populace, upon the point of extinguishing, rekindled in a moment in all their hearts:

the sight of the vanquished tyrant filled their vile souls with more base and mean vengeance than ever. All their respect for the senator was lost as he was. The notary Treio gave him a great cut across the head with his sabre; he was stabbed afterwards in several places, and every man strove to outvie each other in insulting an enemy, who was now no more sensible of their barbarity. Rienzi died by the first stroke, without speaking one word, or making the least groan. The mob, not satisfied with washing themselves in his blood, dragged his disfigured corpse by the feet through the streets, from the capitol to St. Mark's, with loud huzzas. His head and arms they stuck upon the roads; his shapeless body they hung by the feet on a stake before the palace of the Colonnas, whom he had so constantly persecuted: it remained above two days exposed to the insolence of the dregs of the people, until Jugurtha and Sciaretta Colonna, who returned to Rome upon the first news of his death, ordered it to be carried to the Jews' quarter, with whom they left it.

By the animosity shewn by the Jews upon this occasion, it seems as if Rienzi did not greatly affect them during either of his administrations. All without exception ran to the place where they had thrown him. They resolved to burn him with a small fire, and upon a heap of dry thistles, to demonstrate by this barbarous treatment of the dead body, in what manner they would have him used had he

fallen into their hands alive. As he was grown excessively fat, his flesh gave fresh strength to the flame, which those wretches kept burning slow, that they might feed the longer time their eyes with the horrid spectacle. They actually stayed as long as any of his bones remained, that they might be assured he was entirely consumed.

Such was the end of Nicholas Rienzi, one of the most renowned men of his age: who, after forming a conspiracy full of extravagance, and executing it in the sight almost of the whole world, with such success that he became sovereign of Rome; after causing plenty, justice, and liberty to flourish among the Romans; after protecting potentates and terrifying sovereign princes; after being arbiter of crowned heads; after reestablishing the ancient majesty and power of the Roman republic, and filling all Europe with his fame during the seven months of his first reign; after having compelled his masters themselves to confirm him in the authority he had usurped against their interests; fell at length at the end of his second, which lasted not four months, a sacrifice to the nobility whose ruin he had vowed, and to those vast projects which his death prevented him from putting in execution. Had his judgment and conduct been answerable to his genius and eloquence, Rienzi might have been set in competition with the greatest of monarchs. At some critical junctures he was a profound politician, at others weak

and almost stupid. This inequality in talents, temper, and conduct was the cause of his rise, and the cause of his ruin. Like comets, these phantoms of sovereignty are no more than the plaything of a day. After his death a steel mirror was found in his cabinet, in such characters and figures as confirmed the populace in their opinion of his being a magician. It must be confessed that pope Clement, in his letter to cardinal Bertram, his legate at Naples, informing him of the intrigues of Rienzi with Lewis of Bavaria, told him that of the two Germans the tribune sent to that emperor, one named Albert passed for a magician, and that he boasted he brought with him a devil shut up in a bottle; but the same pope in his other letters, wherein he omitted nothing that could render the tribune odious, imputes no sorcery or converse with magicians to him. He knew indeed that the artifice of Rienzi, the prophetical air he sometimes affected, his mystical emblems, the force of his eloquence, and his superior talents in ruling their hearts, had given him the reputation of a magician among a set of people over whom credulity and ignorance prevailed.

But what rendered Rienzi still more odious to the people was a tax-scheme found in his pocket-book: it was divided into five classes; the first comprehended one hundred persons, who were taxed five hundred florins a head; the second contained another hundred, taxed four hundred florins; the third one

hundred; the fourth fifty; and the fifth ten. Upon sight of this list, which discovered the oppressions designed by the senator, they rejoiced at their deliverance. The riches he had heaped upon those who were attached to him, redoubled their hatred. The soldiers he had placed at Rome for the security of his person, had their goods, their arms, and their horses taken from them, and were driven away with ignominy. His palace was plundered, and every thing that belonged to him taken away.

Pope Innocent, informed of this revolution, sent orders to cardinal d'Albornos, his legate at Rome, to reestablish tranquillity, by choosing a senator to rule within, and a general to command without. After this era, the authority which the popes recovered in Italy by the exploits of d'Albornos, who had retaken most of the places taken from the territories of the church, was highly instrumental in preserving the Romans dutiful, until the arrival of Urban V., who kept his see at Rome, the thirteenth year after the death of Rienzi.

As to the memory of Rienzi, it became dear to the Romans in a very short time. Indignation and rage soon gave place to sentiments more humane and favourable. His death washed away the spots of his crimes and excesses: they remembered only his virtues and renowned actions. He was a long time regretted. The contemporary author, Fortifiocca, from whom most of the circumstances of this

history were taken, affirms that it was his head only that could restore to the Romans their happiness and their liberty. His name, many years after this bloody tragedy, was held in the highest esteem and veneration; while the names of Locciolo Pellicciaro his betrayer, and Cecco de lo Vecchio his assassin, were detested.

THE END.

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